

Perfective Auxiliaries, Aspect and Grammaticalisation in Spanish.



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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis is devoted to the study of Spanish perfective / resultative auxiliaries. The central question of this investigation is to determine whether auxiliaries can have in their lexical entry information which can be conceived as argument related.

This study will be incorporated within the three broader issues that have concerned linguists of many persuasions for decades in connection with the study of auxiliaries. First, whether auxiliaries can be classed as being a uniform category across languages or whether there is cross-linguistic variation. The second concern is whether auxiliaries form an independent discrete category in their own right or whether they are categorially related to verbs. Finally, the third issue is related to the traditional open/closed or lexical/functional part of speech divide. According to this divide, auxiliaries are generally taken to be grammatical formatives expressing notional domains such as tense, aspect or modality.

In this thesis I will present these issues within the context of generative grammar (Chomsky 1975, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1995, etc). In this framework auxiliaries are interpreted as grammatical formatives expressing notional domains such as tense, aspect or modality. A connection between main verbs and auxiliaries is mostly acknowledged, but the latter are interpreted as semantically empty defective verbs, retaining only operator like properties (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, 1994, Roberts 1992, 1999, inter alia.). This thesis investigates the issues involved in the concept of "semantically empty defective verbs" which is interpreted in terms of the lexico-semantic notion of thematic information (a first introduced in Gruber 1965 and Fillmore 1968). Under this view, auxiliaries, unlike lexical verbs, are interpreted as being unable to assign thematic roles. In conceptual terms, this assumption translates further, as an inability of auxiliaries to license or select arguments and by extension, to engage in argument-taking operations. In this thesis I am particularly interested in this latter issue concerning the lexical information of auxiliary verbs. However, I will take the radical stand that not only do auxiliaries have operator like-properties, but also that they have lexical information connected to arguments in their lexical entry. Precursors of this idea we find represented in the Lexical / Functional auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) and in the work of Speas (1990) where functional and lexical categories are equated in terms of theta-grids. Most importantly, inspired by the latter work, it is proposed that the way auxiliaries license their arguments is by entering into parasitic relations with their embedded predicates. In order to support this claim I turn to the diachronic process of grammaticalisation, the syntax-semantics interface and the analysis of lexical information in terms of aspect and argument structure.

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DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work it embodies has been done by myself.

To Robin, Marisha and "Max".

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Chapter I

Introduction.

1. 0 Introduction.

This investigation is devoted to the study of Spanish perfective/resultative auxiliaries from the point of view of grammaticalisation. Furthermore, the question I will be concerned with is whether auxiliaries can have in their lexical entry information which can be conceived as argument related. Furthermore, I will include this study within the broader issues which have concerned linguists working in this area for decades. Researchers in the field have been concerned with three key issues: First, whether auxiliaries can be classed as being a uniform category across languages or whether there is cross-linguistic variation. The second concern has been whether auxiliaries form an independent discrete category in their own right or whether they are categorially related to verbs. Finally, the third issue is related to the traditional open/closed or lexical/functional part of speech divide. According to this divide, auxiliaries are generally taken to be grammatical formatives expressing notional domains such as tense, aspect or modality.

In this thesis I will present these issues within the context of generative grammar. I will do so for two reasons: the first one being, it provides a good general descriptive frame for this investigation. The second reason is connected to the fact that these issues have been the subject of a long standing debate among linguists working in this framework. Throughout this investigation, I will refer to work undertaken in the early days of Transformational grammar (Chomsky 1975). Furthermore, a great deal of the descriptive work in this thesis will also be devoted to authors working in the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky (1981, 1986, 1988, etc.) and its later version, the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) . However, it should be noted that for the most part, this investigation will centre around the syntax-semantics interface and the analysis of lexical information of verbs in terms of aspect and argument structure. Therefore, although I will attempt to find a correlation between the syntax and the semantics at some general level of description, the syntactic analysis will be relegated to a secondary position.

In what follows, in order to set the foundations and motivations of this investigation

I will first provide a general outline of the thesis in terms of the three key issues mentioned above. This will be followed in section (1. 2), by a general introduction on the functional/lexical category divide which will provide the general setting for the area to which this investigation is related. Finally, in section (1. 3) I will provide a brief outline in terms of the information contained in each chapter of this thesis.

1. 1 General Outline of Work.

In the generative framework the three key issues surrounding the study of auxiliaries mentioned in the previous section, have been translated into questions with important theoretical implications. For instance, the issue of whether auxiliaries can be classed as a uniform category across languages or not, has been translated as the assumption that auxiliaries form a universal category and any cross-linguistic variation is explained in terms of specific language parameters related to other areas of the language in question. This type of approach is, for instance, the one advocated by linguists working in the area of Verb Raising phenomena which I will discuss briefly in Chapter III (section 3. 1. 1).

Secondly, the issue of whether auxiliaries are related to main verbs or whether they form an independent discrete category, is a more complex one because the literature is split between the two approaches. Since the pioneering work of Ross (1968), the vast majority of researchers acknowledge a connection between main verbs and auxiliaries (see Chapter II, section 2. 2. 3). However, as we will see in Chapter II (section 2. 2. 2), there is still a minority of linguists who assume that auxiliaries form a discrete category “auxiliary” (Akmajian et al. 1979). And this contrast of views, translates into the way linguists represent auxiliaries in a syntactic tree structure: if a connection between main verbs and auxiliaries is assumed, then these project into syntax as a V^0 level category. In contrast, if a discrete opposition is assumed, then these are projected either as a category AUX or as some sort of feature (Ouhalla 1991). However, it is not always very clear whether linguists assume a discrete contrast between auxiliaries or not. This is confused further, by the fact that much of the early work has been done highlighting the peculiarities of the English auxiliary system. Here there appears to be a difference between modal and aspectual auxiliaries which is then applied to other languages where such a difference might not be relevant. Nevertheless, I will not deal with this issue directly in this thesis, because it goes beyond the scope of this investigation. Instead, I will be concerned with a different area of investigation. Namely, I will be concerned with the question of what lexical information is contained in the lexical entries of auxiliaries. This in turn, takes us to the third question which is connected to the functional/lexical

category divide mentioned above, where auxiliaries are interpreted as grammatical formatives expressing notional domains such as tense, aspect or modality. Relating to this, especially in the more recent generative tradition, a connection between main verbs and auxiliaries is mostly acknowledged, but the latter are interpreted as semantically empty defective verbs, retaining only the operator like properties mentioned earlier (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, 1994, Roberts 1992, 1999, *inter alia.*). This thesis investigates the issues involved in the concept of “semantically empty defective verbs” and I will now mention briefly what these are .

In the generative literature, the concept of semantic information applied to auxiliaries is often interpreted in terms of the lexico-semantic notion of thematic information (the concept was first introduced in Gruber 1965, Fillmore 1968). Generally speaking, this is to be interpreted as the information about the number and type of participants contained in the lexical entry of a predicate which is connected to the notions of theta roles and theta grids (discussed in Chapter II section 2. 1. 2). Under this view, auxiliaries, unlike lexical verbs, are interpreted as being unable to assign thematic roles. In conceptual terms, this assumption translates further, as an inability of auxiliaries to license or select arguments and by extension, to engage in argument-taking operations. In this thesis I am particularly interested in this latter issue concerning the lexical information of auxiliary verbs. However, instead of supporting the hypothesis that auxiliaries are interpreted as semantically empty operators which do not engage in argument taking operations, I will take the view that not only do they have these operator like-properties, but that auxiliaries also have lexical information connected to arguments. However, as is often the case, it is easier to assume that auxiliaries have no lexical content than to prove the contrary. Therefore, in order to look for evidence, I propose to investigate this issue in connection with the diachronic process of grammaticalisation. As we will see in more detail in Chapter II (section 2. 2. 4), under this approach auxiliaries are viewed as being part of the greater diachronic process where a lexical item becomes a grammatical formative (Lehmann 1985, Heine et al. 1991, Heine 1993, *inter alia.*). More specifically, in this thesis I will concentrate on the system of Spanish (including Old and Modern Spanish). Here I will show how for some auxiliaries it is clearly the case that they do not only have operator-like properties, but it is also possible to postulate that they have lexical content relating to participants. We will see how this is most noticeable for Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ (*have*). In Chapter V we will see in great detail, how this auxiliary is involved in the periphrastic resultative construction which has often been connected in the literature with the grammaticalisation path of perfectives (Mattoso Camara 1972, Bybee et al. 1994, Trask 1996, *inter alia.*). I will discuss this grammaticalisation path in Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 1). I will propose that on the basis that in some languages perfectives

are ambiguous between a perfective and a resultative reading, the connection between the perfective and the resultative constructions, is a property pertaining to internal arguments. I will use this latter property as evidence for the existence of lexical information for the Old Spanish 'ser' (*be*) and 'aver' (*have*) perfective auxiliaries and most importantly, for Modern Spanish 'tener'. Furthermore, this lexical information I will interpret in the light of notions connected to aspect and its connection with argument structure. In this view I will be developing an idea presented by Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) who distinguish between Lexical and Functional auxiliaries. Lexical auxiliaries are the ones which according to the latter works are endowed with lexical information which is not only operator-like. Although I will briefly refer to Functional auxiliaries, in this thesis I will mainly concentrate on their Lexical counterparts. However, inspired by the work of Speas (1990), I will take a radical stand and propose that both Functional and Lexical auxiliaries are able to assign theta roles and license arguments. I will propose further that the way these auxiliaries license these arguments is by entering into parasitic relations with the arguments of their embedded predicates. These parasitic relations I will call Merger. Finally, because this type of approach will have a number of consequence for the theory of functional categories, in the following section I will also provide a general introduction on the issues surrounding the functional / lexical divide and we will also see how this fares with the description of the phenomenon of grammaticalisation.

1.2 The Functional / Contentive Category Divide and Grammaticalisation.

In linguistic description, the lexical items found in natural language are generally divided into substantives (also contentives or open class words) and functional (also grammatical or closed class words). Generally, verbs, nouns and adjectives are generally considered to be contentives. In contrast, auxiliaries, complementizers and determiners are generally classed as grammatical. The properties characterising each class has been the subject of ongoing research for a long time now and is embedded in what is known as the theory of functional categories. This area of research became important in the early 1980s when it was proposed that the previously exocentric category, S, was in fact headed by a functional category INFL and that S' was actually a projection of COMP (Stowell 1981). Since then, a host of new functional categories have been added to the inventory and their number and type is still a matter of great debate. For instance, in Pollock (1989), the components of INFL have been split into Tense (T) and Agreement (Agr) and are said to head their own syntactic projections TP and AgrP (on this issue see Chapter III, section 3, 1, 1). And

now since the seminal work on the subject by Ouhalla (1991), it is now widely accepted that these functional categories as opposed to contentives, can vary from language to language and this leads to the claim that functional categories determine parametric variation. However, this is not an issue that needs to be treated in detail here, but what needs to be highlighted is that the functional / contentive contrast is theoretically significant. Furthermore, according to Cann (2000) there is also psycholinguistic evidence supporting this distinction which is related to how both categories are processed.

It is generally accepted that the functional contentive contrast is characterised by cluster properties. Below I list some of these most often mentioned in the literature (Fukui and Speas 1986, Abney 1987, Ouhalla 1991, Cann 2000, Roberts 1997, *inter alia*).

Lexical Categories

- Have substantive meaning or denotative interpretation
- Have arguments and assign theta roles to these.
- Are open classes (new words can be created and added to the inventory)

Functional Categories

- Lack substantive meaning, they have a logical interpretation
- Do not assign theta roles and do not have arguments
- Are closed classes (no new words can be created)

Also in Cann (2000) we find up to date, the most detailed description of the properties characterising grammatical and lexical elements. Apart from mentioning some of the properties mentioned above, this work also describes the properties of functional and lexical elements in terms of phonology and morphology. In relation to the former, functional categories are described as not having metrical stress or in relation to their morphological status, they are often associated with bound morphs or clitics. For instance, the category of determiners can never stand alone and always has to be associated with a noun in an NP (or DP in the sense of Abney 1987). As a result, functional categories appear to be less independent than their lexical counterparts. In terms of syntax functional elements appear in restricted contexts and these contexts define the class they belong to. For instance, person and number inflection is verbal and is always associated to the context of verbs. In contrast, gender and number morphology is always associated with the nominal domain and the categories involved in it (as for instance adjectives).

Furthermore, although as mentioned earlier it is generally accepted that this distinction between functional and contentives is theoretically significant the way to treat them is still controversial (Cann 2000). For instance, one way to treat them is in terms of feature compositions. The four major contentive categories of noun, verb, adjective and prepositions are broken down into combinations of distinctive features which define the category they belong to as I illustrate below:

(1)	A	>	[+N +V]
	N	>	[+N -V]
	V	>	[-N +V]
	P	>	[-N -V]

A different set of features is proposed in Ouhalla (1991) in order to accommodate the cluster properties characterising the lexical / grammatical category contrast described above. In this latter work

three types of features are proposed: s-selection (semantic selection), c-selection (or categorial selection) and m-selection (or morphological selection). First, s-selection involves the selection of arguments (i.e. DP or propositional). All major categories can have arguments and can then be said to have s-selectional properties. Functional categories in contrast, do not have these s-selectional properties and therefore, they lack the ability to take arguments.

In turn, c-selection is defined in terms of selection for syntactic categories. For substantives, c-selection is not relevant, but for their functional counterparts it plays an important role in determining structural properties of constructions. Finally, m-selection ensures that the affixal type (free or bound) of a morpheme is specified in the lexicon and that these then attach to the category of the right type in the syntax. For instance, the inflectional functional category TNS will only attach to a verbal stem, since TNS elements are usually found in the verbal domain.

In this investigation I will not rely on feature compositions to characterise the functional contentive contrast. Nevertheless, what we learn from the above, is that in the generative literature this latter contrast appears to be embedded in a model representing a discrete set of categories (I will also discuss this issue in more detail throughout this thesis in connection with auxiliaries). The fact that the contrast between functional and contentives is devised as a discrete model is precisely what has been questioned by a number of authors, especially when considering the area of grammaticalisation (Haspelmath 1994, Cann 2000).

I mentioned in the previous section that this phenomenon involves the process whereby a contentive becomes a grammaticalised element. In Chapter II (section 2. 2. 4) and Chapter III (sections 3. 1. 3 and 3. 1. 4) we will see how generative descriptions of grammaticalisation are characterised by the application of this discrete model of functional/contentive categories. More specifically, in Chapter III

(section 3. 1. 4) we will see in detail how this discrete model has been applied to the grammaticalisation of the English system of modal auxiliaries in Roberts (1992). In this analysis we will see how a theta marking modal such as Old English 'willan' (*want*), is interpreted under grammaticalisation to reanalyse as a non-theta marking functional element.

According to Haspelmath (1994) the phenomenon of grammaticalisation is conceived as a gradual phenomenon and as a result, it is not possible to describe the categories involved in terms of a clear-cut dichotomy. Instead, what emerges is a scale of possibilities ranging from "not at all grammaticalised" to "highly grammaticalised". As suggested by Roberts' (1992) work, a generative description of the phenomenon always has to choose between a functional and a lexical element and because the model is discrete, there are no stages in between. Therefore, as Haspelmath (1994) concludes, if grammaticalisation is a dynamic process then there is no place for discrete categories. This is precisely the area of investigation I will be concerned with in this thesis. Under grammaticalisation I propose to provide a way to account the properties of auxiliaries in terms of a dynamic model. In this I will dispense with the assumption that auxiliaries do not have argument related information in their lexical entries. I will propose that if auxiliaries are to be interpreted as grammaticalised verbs, then the area at which these can be conceived as related, is precisely in terms of their argument structure.

1. 3 Organisation of Thesis.

In Chapter II I present the general issues surrounding the concept of argument structure. We will see how in the Principles and Parameters framework this is closely connected to the notion of theta roles. Furthermore, I will present the main issues and data surrounding the main verb / auxiliary divide and the interpretation of this issue in connection with the process of grammaticalisation. Furthermore, I will ask the question of whether auxiliaries can be interpreted as having argument structure.

In Chapter III I return to the issue concerning thematic roles in relation with auxiliaries. In the Principles and Parameters this takes on theoretical significance in the work of Pollock (1989). We will see how this assumption is motivated theory internally which stems from the interaction between the Projection Principle and the Theta Criterion. However, I will show how this assumption that auxiliaries do not have theta assigning properties is not accepted by everyone. For instance, we will see the work of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) who assume a distinction between Lexical and Functional auxiliaries. We will see how a similar

contrast is assumed in Roberts (1992) in order to explain grammaticalisation. I will reinterpret the Lexical / Functional distinction in the light of the Theory of Licensing of Speas (1990) and I will propose that the way auxiliaries engage in argument taking operations is by entering into a parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicates.

In Chapter IV I return to the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991) in relation to Romance perfectives. I present the main formal properties of this construction in these languages and we will see how these are related to the presence of participial agreement and the feature of auxiliary selection. I follow up the proposal of these authors that Lexical auxiliaries are found among the group of languages which have a system characterised by auxiliary selection and I examine this further. I claim that what characterises Lexical perfective auxiliaries, is the fact that in these languages it is often the case that perfectives are ambiguous between a perfective and a resultative reading. This will provide us with an indication of what the lexical information contained in these auxiliaries is related to and I will propose that this information pertains to internal arguments.

In Chapter V I characterise further what this property of internal arguments is related to. I investigate the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ periphrastic participial and adjectival resultatives. We will see that these constructions are constrained semantically and syntactically in such a way that what is highlighted is the property that their objective DPs have to be affected and specific. However, we will see how these two types of resultatives enter into complementary distribution which will motivate separate analyses for both constructions.

The purpose of Chapter VI is to continue with the characterisation of Lexical perfective auxiliaries and I will apply the findings of the last two chapters to analyse Old Spanish perfective auxiliaries. We will see how Old Spanish ‘*ser*’ (*be*) and ‘*aver*’ (*have*) engage in argument taking operations by entering into parasitic relations with their embedded predicates. We will briefly see how this fares in relation to grammaticalisation.

Finally, in Chapter VII I will provide some conclusions in connection with the process of grammaticalisation.

Chapter II

Auxiliaries and Argument Structure

2. 0 Introduction.

In the introductory chapter of this thesis we saw how auxiliaries are generally considered to be a part of speech belonging to the closed functional class of words which is understood to be semantically empty. However, it is conceded that they do retain operator-like qualities for the expression of tense, aspect and modality. In the generative tradition, we have seen briefly how the issue of verbal semantics is often interpreted in terms of the information relating to the type and number of participants each verb has encoded in its lexical entry. Auxiliaries in contrast, are assumed to be 'semantically empty'. This means that they are unable to take arguments and as such do not take participants functioning as objects or subjects (Chomsky 1981, 1986, 1995, Taraldsen 1986, Ouhalla 1991). Hence, auxiliaries are characterised as lacking argument structure, a view I will argue against in this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter, will be in the first instance, to present what is meant by the concept of argument structure in the current investigation. This will be the subject of section (2. 1). Additionally, the aim will be to answer the question of whether auxiliaries in fact, can be interpreted as having information related to argument structure encoded in their lexical entry. This will be dealt with in section (2. 2) where I will show how the characterisation of auxiliaries as being 'semantically empty' is tied to the broader issue mentioned in the previous chapter (section 1. 1), of whether auxiliaries are related in some way to verbs or not. I will ascribe to the view advocating the verbal nature of auxiliaries and this I will support further, through evidence originating from the framework which deals with the diachronic phenomenon of grammaticalisation (Traugott and Heine 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Trask 1996). We will see how exponents of this framework, take the view that auxiliaries are verbs on a cline to become functional elements and that the connection between a main verb and an auxiliary is to be interpreted as a continuum (Heine et al. 1991, Heine 1993). Finally, in relation to the latter, I will propose that, if we interpret auxiliaries as grammaticalised verbs, the point at which they can be conceived as being related to each other, is precisely in terms of their argument structure.

This chapter is organised as follows: In section (2. 1) I will take a closer look at what is meant by the term argument structure. I will look at its origins and how in the generative tradition, it has been treated in relation to the notions of theta roles. In section (2. 2) I present the debate of whether there is a connection between auxiliaries and main verbs and I go into the issue of grammaticalisation in more detail.

2. 1 Argument Structure.

2. 1. 1 What is Argument Structure ?

Argument structure is a linguistic concept which has been borrowed from the area of semantics dealing with predicate logic (Dowty 1979, Gamut 1991, inter alia.). In this discipline a predicate is understood to be an element in a proposition which defines a relation between referring expressions. These referring expressions are generally called arguments. According to the number of arguments, predicates are then called, one-place, two-place, three-place or x-place predicates depending on whether they require either one, two, three or more arguments.

In the description of natural language, the sentence takes the place of the proposition in predicate logic and in turn, the predicate of the proposition is interpreted as being denoted by the verb in the sentence. Furthermore, the argument places indicate the number of participants necessarily involved in the activity or state expressed by the verb or predicate. This is then what is generally interpreted in linguistic description as the argument structure of a verb and it is held to be responsible for determining which elements in a sentence are compulsory. However, the one-place, two-place and x-place classification predicates in the logical domain are applied to the linguistic domain in a more restricted fashion in order to accommodate the types of verbs to be found in natural languages. The distinction can be translated into the traditional intransitive, transitive and ditransitive distinction. Thus, if a verb is said to be intransitive we know that it refers to an activity or state involving minimally one argument; two arguments for a transitive verb and three for a ditransitive verb. I illustrate this distinction below for the verbs *go*, *love* and *give*.

- (2) a. The dog goes for a walk.
- b. Peter loves Mary.
- c. Peter gives Mary the book.

In (2a) *the dog* is then the single minimal participant required by the intransitive verb *go*. In (2b) *Peter* and *Mary* are the two arguments required by transitive *love* and finally, *Peter*, *Mary* and *the book* are the arguments required by ditransitive *give* in (2c). Additionally, the argument structure of a lexical item is part of its lexical entry which is stored in the Lexicon or the level where all the native speaker linguistic knowledge is stored.

However, whether a verb is intransitive, transitive or ditransitive should not be taken as a random phenomenon, it follows from the type of action or state expressed by the verb. In other words, this means that the polyadicity of a verb should be determined from its meaning and this is often understood to be encoded in its Lexical Conceptual Structure (Jackendoff 1987, 1990, Hale and Keyser 1987, Rappaport and Levin 1986 inter alia.). In these works, the inherent semantic content of a verb often appears encoded in the form of variables and semantic primitives. Furthermore, there is a fundamental principle ensuring the non-trivial relation (or linking) of variables encoded in Lexical Conceptual Structure on to arguments at the level of argument structure, as is illustrated below for the Lexical Conceptual Structure of *want* taken from Rosen (1989: 125):

(3) **want:** [x] desires [_{thing} y] to come into x's possession.

Here the Lexical Conceptual Structure specifies that *want* requires a participant [x] who desires another participant [y] and from this information we can ascertain that *want* is a transitive verb which requires at least two arguments in order to form a complete grammatical sentence. This we find illustrated below where *want*, pragmatic functions aside, appears with only one participant in a basically incomplete statement.

(4) * Mary wants.

Furthermore, from the Lexical Conceptual Structure of a verb not only is it possible to elicit the number of arguments but also the type. At the onset of this section it was mentioned that predicates establish some sort of relation between participants or arguments. This relation is primarily a semantic one and it is determined by the inherent meaning of the predicate. Furthermore, this semantic relation determines that not all arguments be the same and that it is possible to postulate generalisation about types of arguments. This is discussed in the following section

2. 1. 2 Argument Structure and Theta Roles.

We intuitively know that *love* in (2b) minimally requires two arguments, but we also know intuitively that both maintain a different relation to one another: *Mary* is the participant experiencing the action of loving and that *Peter* is the recipient of this action. Therefore, *love* does not only tell us how many participants but also what their more specific semantic relation is. All predicates have this type of information encoded and as mentioned above, these more specific semantic relationships have been called Thematic roles or theta-roles (Θ -roles for short) in the literature (Gruber 1965, Fillmore 1968, Jackendoff 1987, 1990, inter alia).

The number and type of roles is still an ongoing debate in the literature, but what is clear is, that they can be categorised according to semantic similarities which define the different types of arguments. Here are the ones most often mentioned (Jackendoff 1987, 1990, Haegeman 1991, Grimshaw 1990 inter alia). First, an agent is the participant interpreted as initiating the action denoted by the verb. In contrast a patient is the person or thing undergoing the action expressed by the predicate. A theme is interpreted as the person or thing moved by the action; an experiencer is the person experiencing some psychological state. The goal refers to the person to whom an action is directed. Finally, a location refers to the place where an action or state is situated. Over leaf I illustrate some of these theta roles:

- (5) Peter gives the book to Mary.
 agent patient goal

In (5) Peter is interpreted as the agent, because he is the one initiating the action of *giving*. *The book* is the patient, because it is affected by the action of giving and *to Mary* is the goal, because the *giving* is directed towards this participant. Therefore, from the latter we can conclude that the lexical entry of a predicate tells us not only the number of arguments but also the more specific semantic relation between them. In the theory, this process is called Theta Marking and the module of the grammar regulating this area is Theta Theory which is said to operate at Deep-Structure (Chomsky 1981, 1986). The verb is said to theta mark its arguments and the semantic relations between arguments are then realised as grammatical functions such as subjects, objects or adjuncts. For instance, an agent is commonly interpreted as a subject (as *Peter* in 5), a patient/theme is mostly expressed as an object (as *the book* also in 5), etc.

In the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986a, 1986b, 1989) and the Minimalist Program (1995), argument structure and thematic structure are

treated as being one and the same thing. Predicates or verbs in general, are said to have thematic structure or theta-grids and this is akin to saying that they have argument structure. However, subsequent work devoted specifically to revealing the properties of argument structure (Rappaport and Levin 1986, Zubizarreta 1987) have determined that theta-role labels should not be present in argument structure. It is in this light that Grimshaw (1990: 3) says “the argument structure for a predicate is taken to be a reflection of its lexical semantics, so that the argument structure of a predicate should be derivable from key characteristics of its meaning.” These key characteristics are encoded in Lexical Conceptual Structure as we have seen in the previous section where it was mentioned that from this, it is possible not only to elicit the number but also the type of arguments. Therefore, in the light of the latter, Grimshaw (1990) proposes that theta roles are nothing but labels and argument structure becomes the interface level between the lexicon and the syntax: Lexical Conceptual Structure determines argument structure and Deep Structure is then projected from argument structure and principles of X-bar theory. In Chapter III (section 3. 1. 2) we will see how both in the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986) and the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1992, 1995), this relation between argument structure and the syntax is regulated by the Projection Principle. However, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis (section 1. 0) what happens in the syntax will be relegated to a secondary place in this investigation. For the moment, the purpose of this section is to provide a working frame on the subject of argument structure at a pre-theoretical level and to establish where we find it in the grammar. I will briefly summarise what we have seen so far. There have been two main points: the first one being that the argument structure of a verb encodes the basic polyadicity of a verb (that is, whether a verb requires one, two or three arguments). The second point is that the latter can be derived from the basic meaning of a verb which is encoded at the level of Lexical Conceptual Structure, rendering the additional semantic notion of thematic roles redundant. In the following section we will see how arguments are categorised in the literature in terms of the internal/external distinction of Williams (1981) and we will also see how these can be interpreted as hierarchically structured (Grimshaw 1990).

2. 1. 3 Types of Arguments.

Argument structures are organised in terms of a hierarchy which has been characterised as being defined by relations of prominence by some authors (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Grimshaw 1990). Therefore, it has been suggested that arguments be organised in terms of a Universal Hierarchy of Thematic roles. Below we present the one suggested in Grimshaw (1990: 8)¹.

- (6) Thematic Hierarchy
 (*agent (experiencer (goal/source/location (theme))))*)

This hierarchy imposes its ordering on all arguments so that any two roles in an argument structure reflect the prominence relation determined by this hierarchy. In (6) we see how an agent is always the most prominent argument of the hierarchy, followed by experiencers and goals. Finally, themes and locatives are the least prominent arguments of the hierarchy. In this investigation I will adopt some notion of this assumption where arguments are structured in terms of prominence relations. The hierarchical organisation of theta roles does not form a central hypothesis in this thesis, but its relevance lies in explaining the way I will represent argument structures graphically in this work. Relating to this, I will mention the internal / external argument distinction often assumed in the literature.

According to Williams (1980), arguments can be characterised further depending on whether they are theta marked directly or compositionally (or indirectly) by the verb. In general, an internal argument is one that is theta-marked directly by the verb and hence, it is called a direct internal argument. In contrast, an external argument is one which is theta-marked compositionally by the verb and its object. Subjects are always external arguments and objects are always internal². Throughout this thesis then, I will use the notation of Grimshaw (1990) and Grimshaw and Mester (1988) in order to represent the argument structures of predicates. In these works internal arguments are represented as *y* and external ones as *x* and the fact that they are structured in terms of the above hierarchy in (6), is represented through parenthesis as I illustrate below for the argument structure of a basic transitive verb.

- (7) Transitive Argument Structure: (*x (y)*)

What is represented here is that *x* is the external and most prominent argument in the

¹ Grimshaw (1990) also proposes an aspectual dimension which determines the prominence relations between arguments which is not relevant to this investigation and which I will not discuss.

² In Chapter IV (section 4. 4. 1) we will see how this compositional approach of deriving the properties of external subjective arguments will be the underlying idea of what has come to be known in the literature as Burzio' s Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986).

structure and *y* is the internal and least prominent one. I will return to these argument structure representations in connection with intransitives in Chapter IV (section 4. 4. 1).

Now I will refer to a third issue not dealt with so far in this chapter. Namely, up until now we have been mentioning verbs as having argument structure but linguists often also recognise the existence of argument structure for other parts of speech. This we will see in the following section where we also ask the question of whether auxiliaries can be described as having argument structure. Since this issue is embedded in the long standing debate in the linguistic literature of whether auxiliaries are to be interpreted as related to verbs or whether they form a discrete category, I will first provide an overview on the issue. First, in section (2. 2. 1) I will present the view interpreting auxiliaries as being unrelated to main verbs and then in section (2. 2. 1), I will then turn to the opposing view claiming that auxiliaries are related to verbs. Finally, I will look at this question in more detail from the point of view of grammaticalisation and I will propose that if auxiliaries are in some way connected to main verbs, this should then be at argument structure.

2. 1. 4 Summary.

In this section there have been two main points: the first one being that the argument structure of a verb encodes the basic polyadicity of a verb (that is, whether a verb requires one, two or three arguments) and that this can be derived from its basic meaning which is encoded at the level of Lexical Conceptual Structure. Therefore, the additional semantic notion of thematic roles is a redundant one as proposed by Grimshaw (1990). Secondly, arguments are categorised in the literature in terms of the internal/external distinction of Williams (1980) and argument structures are interpreted as structured hierarchically in terms of prominence relations (Grimshaw 1990 and Grimshaw and Mester 1988). In the following section I will address the issues concerning auxiliaries mentioned above.

2. 2 Auxiliaries and Argument Structure.

2. 2. 1 Auxiliaries as Discrete Categories.

In English auxiliaries differ from main verbs in that they can appear to the left of the negative element *not*, VP adverbs such as *often* and floating quantifiers such as *all*. This I illustrate in the contrast between (8a) to (8c) for main verbs and (9a) to (9c) for the perfective auxiliary *to have*. In addition, auxiliaries and main verbs also show different behaviour in the context of yes-no question formation. That is, auxiliaries but not main verbs are allowed to invert with their subjects as shown in the contrast between (8d) and (9d).

- (8) a. * John sees not Mary.
b. * John kisses often Mary.
c. * My friends love all Mary.
d. * Likes he Mary?
- (9) a. John has not seen Mary
b. John has often kissed Mary.
c. My friends have all loved Mary.
d. Has he seen Mary?

The marked ungrammatical behaviour of main verbs observed in negative and yes-no interrogative environments illustrated above (8a), (9a) and (8d), (9d), is resolved through dummy *do*-support as illustrated in (10) and (11) below.

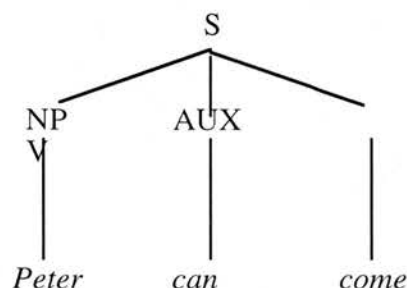
- (10) a. John does not see Mary.
b. * John does has not seen Mary.
- (11) a. Does he kiss Mary?
b. * Does he has kissed Mary?

This distinct behaviour between aspectual auxiliaries and main verbs seems to suggest that at least for English it is possible to postulate that auxiliaries form a distinct category from main verbs. This is enforced by the peculiar behaviour of modals in English which I illustrate below:

- (12) a. * to can.
b. * caned.

From the examples in (12) we see that in English modals cannot appear as infinitives and do not have any other type of inflectional morphology (tense or person related). This distinct behaviour of English modals and aspectual auxiliaries illustrated above, has led linguists to treat these as an independent category from main verbs (Huddleston 1988). This discrete contrast between main verbs and auxiliaries has led linguists working in the generative tradition to postulate a distinct universal category AUX (Akmajian et al. 1979) where auxiliaries, as opposed to main verbs, are generated in a syntactic tree structure as illustrated in (13) below.

(13)



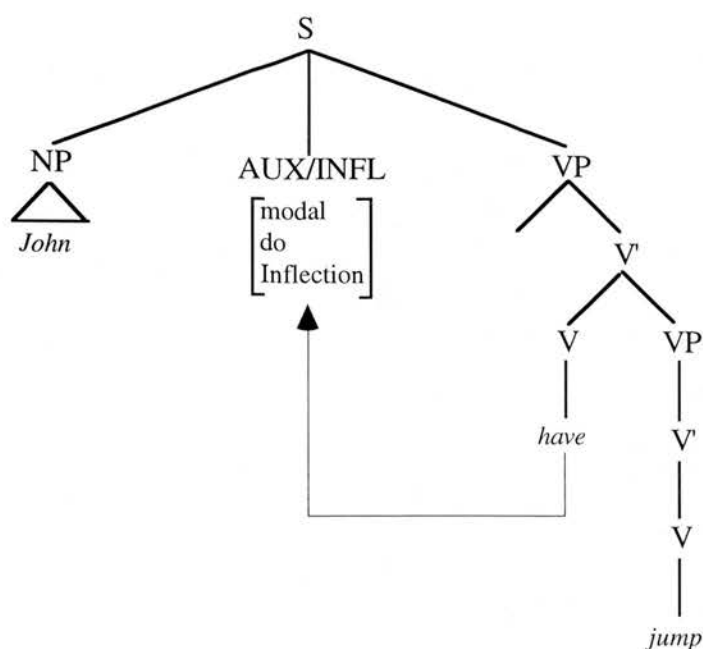
Furthermore, it is also generally understood that this AUX node is the place where finite inflectional morphology (i.e. tense, person and number agreement), negation and dummy-*do* are hosted.

In Emonds (1978) this is developed further and the distinct behaviour of main verbs in relation to auxiliaries is formulated in terms of the transformational rule of “verb-raising” to the syntactic node AUX/INFL³. However, this view assumes a distinction between modals (*may, must, shall, will, etc.*) and aspectuals (*have* and *be*) which is based on the fact highlighted earlier that in English, the former as opposed to the latter, tend not to be inflected. And this contrast between modals and aspectuals is further reflected through the place where these auxiliaries are base generated in a syntactic tree. That is, modals together with negation, dummy-*do* and TNS/AGR are then taken to be generated under AUX/INFL. Aspectual auxiliaries, in contrast, are taken to be generated inside VP⁴ and then are said to raise from inside VP up to AUX/INFL to pick up tense and agreement inflectional morphology. This raising process I illustrate for the aspectual auxiliary *to have* in the tree-structure illustrated in (14) for the string *John has jumped.*:

³ In Stowell (1981) and Chomsky (1981) the AUX node was renamed INFL and the verb-raising rule was thus reformulated as Verb Movement to the inflectional node INFL where auxiliaries but not lexical verbs move to.

⁴ A different view is the one proposed by Akmajian, Steele and Wasow (1979) where no distinction is made between aspectuals and modals. Under this view all auxiliaries are generated under AUX.

(14)



Furthermore, main verbs together with aspectuals are also generated inside VP but in contrast to the latter, are banned from raising to the AUX/INFL position. Instead, it is then assumed that it is the inflection itself which lowers down to attach to V inside the VP. This lowering operation is otherwise known as “Affix-Hopping” and it ensures that main verbs also acquire tense and agreement morphology (cf. Chomsky 1957, 1981, 1986, Emonds 1978, *inter alia*). Nevertheless, this transformation does not always apply. For instance, in the context of negation, “Affix-Hopping” is blocked due to the presence of negation under AUX/INFL. Also yes-no question formation would involve the movement of a main verb to COMP through AUX/INFL. However, main verbs can never appear under AUX/INFL and “Affix-Hopping” is blocked. As a result, both in negative and interrogative environments Tense is said to be left ‘stranded’ under AUX/INFL and the insertion of the dummy auxiliary *do* (under AUX/INFL) is required in order to support it.

Therefore, from the distinct syntactic behaviour between main verbs and auxiliaries just observed in the data above, we can conclude that in English it is possible to postulate a discrete distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs. However, the evidence is inconclusive. More specifically, based on a different type of data we will see that in certain environments both auxiliaries and main verbs can behave in a similar way. This is the basis for what has come to be known in the literature, as the “Main Verb Hypothesis” (Ross 1969).

2. 2. 2 Auxiliaries as Main Verbs.

Opposed to the view just presented in the previous section, Pullum and Wilson (1977), following earlier work by Ross (1969) and contra Akmajian et. al. (1979) referred to earlier, claim that there is no empirical motivation for postulating an independent universal AUX category node where modals and aspectuals (i.e., *have* and *be*) are generated and from which main verbs are excluded. Their objection emerges from the fact that both the peculiar syntactic behaviour of auxiliaries and main verbs and the morphological properties of modals (i.e., their lack of inflection) and main verbs (i. e., “Affix-Hopping” and the fact that they require *do*-support in certain environments) in English, are language specific and cannot be extended to other languages. This, incidentally, we will see exemplified in the following chapter (section 3. 1. 1) for French in which we will see how in this language both finite main verbs and auxiliaries behave alike syntactically with reference to the verb raising environments discussed in the previous section.

However, in continuing with the matter at hand of whether auxiliaries can be interpreted as a category in their own right, as Pullum and Wilson (1977) point out, not even in English do all tests provide a clear distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs. For instance, the test of “Gapping” (or VP-Deletion) and the “Doubl-ing Constraint” proposed in Ross (1972a) apply to both classes alike. By the former rule both main verbs and auxiliaries can be deleted and the latter prevents the multiple occurrence of V + *ing*-V+ *ing* sequences. This I illustrate in (15) and (16) below where the (a) examples correspond to main verbs and the (b) examples to auxiliaries⁵

- (15) a. I drank water and Bill Ø wine.
b. Harry may leave and Fred Ø stay.
- (16) a. * John’s keeping singing annoys me.
b. * John’s being sleeping annoys me.

Furthermore, returning to the verb raising environments discussed earlier, these seem to apply to the verb *to be* in that it obligatorily has to behave like an auxiliary. This is to say, it must always appear to the left of negation, VP-adverbs, floating quantifiers, as illustrated in (17) below. In addition, it has to appear inverted with its subject in interrogatives and as shown from the ungrammaticality of (17b) and (17f) does not require *do*-support⁶.

⁵ Examples (15) to (18) apart from (17f) taken from Pullum and Wilson (1977: 744-745).

⁶ However, we have to note that it has been pointed out to me by certain informants that the ungrammatical examples (17b) and (17f) are possible in certain dialectal variants of the English speaking community.

- (17) a. He *isn't* a fool.
 b. * He *doesn't* be a fool.
 c. He is *hardly* a fool.
 d. They are *all* fools.
 e. Is *he* a fool.
 f. * *Does* he be a fool ?

The main verb *to have* in contrast, can optionally behave syntactically as a main verb or as an auxiliary in the above environments as suggested in (18) below.

- (18) a. He hasn't a penny to his name.
 b. He doesn't have a penny to his name.
 c. He doesn't really have very much money.
 d. He hasn't really very much money.
 e. They all have nice homes to go to.
 f. They've all nice homes to go to.
 g. Do you have any wool ?
 h. Have you any wool ?

Therefore, from the above evidence Pullum and Wilson (1977) conclude that main verbs and auxiliaries should not be treated as categorically distinct. Namely, whether they function as either one or the other, it is the case that both belong to the category of verbs. In theoretical terms this means that they should then head their own VP instead of an independent AUX node (as illustrated in (13) above). Now, although a distinction between modals and aspectuals along the lines expounded in the previous section is still often assumed, the treatment of auxiliaries as V^0 categories has prevailed in subsequent work on the subject, including works dealing either directly or indirectly with questions related to Verb Raising (Taraldsen 1986, Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, 1994, Roberts 1992, Napoli 1993, Kayne 1993, inter alia.). However, in these analyses the Main Verb Hypothesis generally underlies the theoretical assumption of where aspectual auxiliaries are generated in a syntactic tree. That is to say, that *have* and *be* are V^0 level categories which head their own VP projections. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this investigation, from the above we are able to conclude that at a more general level, the important consequence is that auxiliaries are interpreted as a part of speech related to verbs. This verbal nature can be supported further from a different perspective on auxiliaries which to some extent

can be taken as an extension of the “Main Verb Hypothesis”. In the following section I will present the view where auxiliaries are interpreted as being part of the diachronic process of grammaticalisation and where the connection between main verbs and their auxiliary counterparts is seen as a continuum.

2. 2. 3 Auxiliaries as a Continuum.

The exponents of the Grammaticalisation framework (Lehmann 1985, Heine, Claudi and Hünnenmeier 1991, Heine 1993, Hopper and Traugott 1993, inter alia.) offer a more radical view on the nature of auxiliaries than the one proposed by the “Main Verb Hypothesis” discussed in the previous section. For linguists working in this framework, not only is there a connection between main verbs and auxiliaries but this connection is to be seen as a continuum. This means that auxiliaries are interpreted as being part of the greater process of language change where a lexical or contentive item becomes a grammatical formative and an already grammatical one, more grammatical. However, it is not assumed that this process is an abrupt one. Forms undergo a succession of gradual transitions or stages which tend to be uniform and unidirectional across languages as illustrated below:

(19) content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

These stages have been referred to in Heine, Claudi & Hünnenmeier (1991a) and Heine (1993) as “Grammaticalisation Chains”. More specifically in the case of auxiliaries these form a chain called Verb-to-TAM (standing for tense, aspect, modality) which is composed “of a verbal / lexical structure at one end and of a grammatical marker of tense, aspect, modality, etc. at the other” (Heine 1993: 53). This we exemplify for English obligative *have to* below⁷:

(20)	Stage I	I have a letter
	Stage II	I have a letter to mail
	Stage III	I have a letter to write.
	Stage IV	I have to write a letter.
	Stage V	I have to write.

In (20) we see how possessive *have* in the lexical Stages I and II moves through the semi-lexical Stage III to the more grammatical Stages IV and V where *to have* can be clearly be recognised as a marker of modality. However, since the exact

⁷ Verb-to-TAM chain taken from Heine (1993: 42).

procedures and properties characterising each stage are not relevant to the present investigation I will not discuss them in great detail but broadly speaking in (20) we can see that *have* is a transitive verb requiring an object. In Stages I and II this manifests itself in that *a letter* is clearly the object of *have*. In Stage III the focus is moving away from the possession of *the letter* and it is going over to the activity of *writing*. This then allows the change in word-order and finally the dropping of the object altogether in Stage V.

Nevertheless, two important points can be made here: the first one is that under the view of Grammaticalisation, the connection between a main verb and its auxiliary uses is thus, primarily, a conceptual one. For instance, it is now widely recognised that there exists a conceptual connection between perfective or resultative to *have* and possession or between progressive *to be* and the expression of locations⁸. The second point is that auxiliaries and main verbs are connected through the grammaticalisation chain itself. In order to describe this connection the exponents of this framework often refer to the concept of "Graduated Class Membership" introduced by Lehmann (1985) where main verbs and their various auxiliary uses are contrasted and ordered against each other on a scale from lexical to more grammatical. More specifically, this means that in Lehmann's view, the grammaticalisation process of lexical items (in general) has to be interpreted in the light of both synchronic and diachronic variation:

"Under the diachronic aspect, grammaticalisation is a process which turns lexemes into grammatical formatives and makes grammatical formatives still more grammatical ... From the synchronic point of view, grammaticalisation provides a principle according to which subcategories of a given grammatical category may be ordered." (Lehmann 1985: 303).

Under this view, the conclusion that we see emerging is that auxiliaries cannot be taken to be discrete categories. Implicitly, in this position is also the view that auxiliaries cannot be taken to be a universal category. In short, if we accept the concept of a cline the assumption that arises is that auxiliaries are uniform neither in one single language nor with respect to language variation as again we find expressed in Heine (1993):

"Auxiliaries differ considerably in their morphosyntactic structure from one language to another ... ; but even within a given language, auxiliaries exhibit a wide range of functional and

⁸ In the Generative literature this connection has been employed most notably in the work of Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993), Hoekstra (1994).

morphosyntactic variation, extending from free word at one end to inflectional affix at the other. " (Heine 1993: 71)

Here, for both the cross linguistic and intralinguistic questions, modals seem to provide a good example⁹. By way of illustration, let us briefly examine the set of Modern Spanish modals as 'deber' (*must*) 'poder' (*can, be able to*), 'querer' (*want*), 'tener' (*have to*), 'haber' (*have to*). Below we illustrate first how these can appear in deletion contexts:

- (21) Pedro *debe* marcharse y Paco Ø quedarse.
Pedro must-3.sg leave-Inf.reflex.cl and Paco Ø stay-Inf.reflex.cl
Pedro must leave and Paco Ø stay.

Secondly, Spanish modals may display both tense and person-number inflection (22a) and possibly related to this, they can also appear in combination with the perfective auxiliary 'haber' (*to have*) with participial inflection as we see below:

- (22) a. Pudieron cantar.
Can-pret.3.pl sing-Inf
They could sing.
- b. Han podido cantar.
Have-3.pl can-part.Ø sing-Inf.
They have been able to sing.
- c. Deben haber podido cantar.
Must-3.pl have-Inf can-part.Ø sing-Inf.
They must have been able to sing.

Finally, the possibility of occurring as infinitives in non-finite environments (23a) as well as being iterated (23b) can also be attested:

- (23) a. Poder ir a tu casa es importante.
Can-Inf go-Inf to your house-fem.sg be-3.sg important.
Being able to go your house is important.

⁹ Here Heine (1993) gives examples of modals in German. But since this investigation is devoted to Spanish, I have chosen to illustrate this point with my own examples from this language.

- b. Juan debe poder querer ir a tu casa.
 Juan must-3.sg can-Inf want-Inf go-Inf to your-sg house-fem.sg
 Juan must be able to want to go to your home.

Therefore, from the above data we see that Modern Spanish modals differ morphosyntactically from their English counterparts. Just as an example, in (12) we saw that English modals were not able to be inflected and were unable to appear in combination with the auxiliary *have* in the formation of the present perfect. In contrast, in (22) we saw that this was possible for their Modern Spanish counterparts. Furthermore, this difference is not only morphosyntactic but also a semantic one. In order to illustrate this, let us compare English *can* with Spanish ‘poder’ (*can*). In English *can* expresses both ability and possibility and with Spanish ‘poder’ (*can*) with [+human] subjects only the latter is possible. The semantic notion of ability with [+human] subjects instead, is expressed by the main verb verb ‘saber’ (*know*) as illustrated in (24c):

- (24) a. Peter can play the guitar.
 (Meaning: ambiguous between knowing how to play the guitar and being able to do it at a particular time)
- b. Pedro puede tocar la guitarra.
 Pedro can-3.sg play-Inf the-fem.sg guitar-fem.sg
 (Meaning: Pedro is able to play the guitar a particular time)
- c. Pedro sabe tocar la guitarra.
 Pedro know-3.sg play-Inf the-fem.sg guitar-fem.sg
 Pedro knows how to play the guitar.

Furthermore, in Spanish the inventory of modal verbs is much more restricted than in English. Compare the set of five made up of ‘deber’ (*must*) ‘poder’ (*can, be able to*), ‘querer’ (*want*), ‘tener’ (*have to*), ‘haber’ (*have to*) with the English set of *must, have to, will, shall, can, may* and *might*. This contrast between English and Spanish, I infer, is related to the fact that in the latter language it is possible to express notions related with modality through other means. For instance, one such way is through subjunctive inflection, something Modern English grammar lacks. However, I will not examine this issue in detail, but what we can conclude at present from the difference between English and Spanish modals is that there is a great deal of cross-linguistic variation in this area. In addition, we can corroborate Heine’s (1993) claim that auxiliaries do not form a universal class across languages.

However, this difference between auxiliaries is not only cross-linguistic, but it is also attestable within the same linguistic system. As an illustration, let us now compare the remaining Spanish modals ‘*tener*’ (*have*) and ‘*haber*’ (*have*). Although both follow the earlier pattern (22) in that they can appear inflected for person and number inflection, ‘*haber*’ as opposed to ‘*tener*’, cannot appear inflected for the full tense paradigm and cannot be deleted (25a to 25c). In addition, it is unable to appear in non-finite environments and cannot be iterated together with other modals as can also be seen from the ungrammaticality of (25d) and (25e):

- (25) a. Ha /*había de ir.
 Have-pres.3.sg /*have-imperf.3.sg of go-Inf.
 He / she has/had to go.
- Tiene / tenía que ir.
 Have-pres.3.sg / have-imperf.3.sg that go-Inf
 He / she has/had to go.
- b. * Ha habido de ir.
 Have-3.sg have-part.Ø of go-Inf.
 He has had to go.
- Ha tenido que ir.
 Have-3.sg have-part.Ø that go-Inf
 He has had to go.
- c. * Juan ha de bailar y Ø Pedro cantar.
 Juan have-3.sg of dance-Inf and Ø Pedro sing-Inf.
 Juan has to dance and Pedro sing.
- Juan tiene que bailar y Pedro cantar.
 Juan have-3.sg that dance-Inf and Ø Pedro sing-Inf.
 Juan has to dance and Pedro sing.
- d. * Haber de volver a casa cada día es aburrido.
 Have-Inf of return-Inf to home-fem.sg every day-fem.sg be-3.sg boring.
 Having to return home every day is boring.
- Tener que volver a casa cada día es pesado.
 Have-Inf that return-Inf to home-fem.sg every day-fem.sg be-3.sg boring.
 Having to return home every day is boring.

- e. * He de poder ir.
 Have-1.sg of can-Inf go-Inf.
 I have to be able to go.
- Tengo que poder ir.
 Have-1.sg that can-Inf go-Inf
 I have to be able to go.

In this sense, from the examples above we are able to see that as a modal, ‘*tener*’ follows the general pattern for this type of auxiliaries observed in (21), (22) and (23) above. In contrast, from (25) we have seen that in addition to not being able to appear with a full finite inflectional paradigm, ‘*haber*’ is also characterised by its occurrence only in a restricted set of contexts. Therefore, from this preliminary evidence we can conclude that as far as modal uses are concerned ‘*haber*’ appears to be more grammaticalised than ‘*tener*’. Now, although modals do not constitute the primary concern in this investigation, we will see how this grammaticalisation pattern reemerges in their uses as aspectual auxiliaries (in Chapter VI devoted to the ‘*tener*’ resultative and Chapter VII devoted to the Modern and Old Spanish perfects). Nevertheless, for the moment what we can conclude from what we have just seen is that, neither in the same language nor cross-linguistically, should auxiliaries be interpreted as a uniform and discrete category. And as mentioned at the onset of this section, both the intra- and cross-linguistic variation among auxiliaries should be taken as a direct consequence of these being on a grammaticalisation cline. Earlier we saw that an important characteristic of these clines was that forms undergo a succession of gradual transitions or stages from a contentive item to a more grammaticalised one. For auxiliaries, in turn, this means that the connection between main verb and auxiliary uses, is seen as a continuum rather than as a discrete contrast. Finally, the connection between main verbs and auxiliaries seen precisely in this way, is the one I will adopt in this investigation. Therefore, with this hypothesis in mind, I will now ask the key question mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter which is, whether auxiliaries can be interpreted as having argument structure. In the following section I will propose that if auxiliaries are to be interpreted as grammaticalised verbs, the point at which they are connected is at their argument structure. Furthermore, the two main points which will give us the answer to this question I will propose to be on the one hand, the semantic bond between main verbs and auxiliaries and on the other hand, the grammaticalisation chain.

2. 2. 4 Auxiliaries and Argument Structure.

From the discussion in section (2. 1), it is possible to infer that verbs are the lexical items generally accepted by linguists, without question, to have argument structure. Possibly because verbs, apart from denoting states or activities, can also be seen as the predicates defining a relation between participants.

Another category often interpreted as having argument structure are adjectives. This probably is related to their hybrid nature of being in between verbal and nominal. For instance, the adjective *restless* in (26a) can be characterised as requiring one argument and *envious* one or two as is illustrated in (26b) below where *of Peter's success* is an optional argument:

- (26) a. Peter is restless.
b. Mary is envious (of Peter's success)

Furthermore, there is also some work (Grimshaw 1990, Jackendoff 1987, 1990, Speas 1990 inter alia) which has added new categories to the inventory. For example, since the seminal work of Grimshaw (1990) on the subject, it is now widely recognised that nouns can also be interpreted as having argument structure. This can be seen most clearly for deverbal nouns which are said to inherit the argument structure of the verbs they are derived from, as I illustrate below with the noun *the destruction*:

- (27) The destruction of the city by the Romans.

Destruction is derived from the verb *destroy* which is a transitive verb requiring at least two arguments. This characteristic, is inherited by the noun as we see in (27), where *of the city* and *by the Romans* can be interpreted as being the two participants required by *the destruction*.

However, let us now turn to auxiliaries which is the category we are concerned with in this investigation. If a number of parts of speech have been described as encoding some argument structure in their lexical entry, the question I have to ask at this point is, whether it could be claimed that auxiliaries have argument structure too. This issue has not been dealt with in depth in the literature but it is generally accepted that they do not have it, as we see explicitly mentioned in Taraldsen (1986) and Ouhalla (1991):

“Auxiliaries do not have subcategorisation frames, an assumption which will follow from the claim that auxiliaries have no semantic content and hence, unlike the corresponding Main verbs, do not

take arguments." (Taraldsen 1986: 265)

"Auxiliaries do not take arguments. Auxiliaries fall under the class of functional categories." (Ouhalla 1991: 12)

The quotations above state that auxiliaries as opposed to main verbs, do not take arguments and this entails that the former do not have argument structure in their lexical specification. This follows from the fact that they do not have semantic content. In section (2. 1. 2) we have seen that the issue of verbal semantics is related to the notion of thematic roles and that thematic structure and argument structure are treated as one and the same thing. Main verbs are described as having theta grids and for auxiliaries, since they do not take arguments, this also means that they do not have theta grids¹⁰. The semantic content of auxiliaries, we have seen in Chapter I (section 1. 0) has more operator like qualities. Now, this view concerning the contrast between main verbs and auxiliaries does not seem unreasonable at first sight, because, as mentioned in Ouhalla's (1991) quotation, it aligns auxiliaries together with the wider group of functional categories. Bearing on the former, in the introductory chapter of this thesis (section 1. 2. 2), we have seen how in the Principles and Parameters framework the lexical / functional dichotomy is seen as a discrete distinction. Furthermore, in connection with the latter, by assuming that auxiliaries do not have argument structure, but also assuming some version of the Main Verb Hypothesis (Ross 1969) mentioned in section (2. 2. 2), it provides a neat discrete distinction between main verbs and auxiliaries which is desirable from a theoretical point of view.

However, it is not clear whether such a discrete contrast mirrors reality in natural language. For instance, we have already seen in the previous section that there is both intra- and cross-linguistic variation among auxiliaries and throughout the remainder of this thesis, we will see more evidence pointing in this direction. Therefore, if we are to account for these differences among auxiliaries, to do so in terms of such a discrete distinction would be unclear. And what is more, in Chapter I (section 1. 2. 3), I have mentioned that the theory underlying the conception of functional categories as discrete entities, enters into a conflicting area whenever one considers the phenomenon of grammaticalisation. We have seen how according to Haspelmath (1994), under a grammaticalisation approach of functional categories, there is no clear dichotomy between functional and lexical elements, but a scale from "not at all grammaticalised" to "highly grammaticalised". In addition, we have seen how this scale also implies stages in between. If we want to apply these ideas to the grammaticalisation process of auxiliaries we find again that the generative discrete

¹⁰ In Chapter III (section 3. 1. 2) we will see how the assumption of auxiliaries not having theta grids is actually a theory internal issue.

distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs in terms of argument structure, does not give us the stages in between the main verb and the auxiliary uses. For example, the main property involved in the grammaticalisation process of a main verb into an auxiliary is, that the former loses its arguments in order to become an auxiliary. However, this cannot be an abrupt process. More specifically, in Chapter V I will provide evidence of this fact, from the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ participial periphrastic resultative construction suggesting that this auxiliary is involved in some parasitic fashion, in the licensing of the direct object of the embedded participial complement. I will take this as evidence of a stage in between grammaticalisation, as we will see in more detail in Chapter VII. Therefore, since the grammaticalisation process of auxiliaries affects the arguments in some way and in order to be able to account for the stages in between the main verb and the auxiliary uses, I propose that the connection between these two categories, should be made at argument structure. And as a result, I propose that both main verbs and auxiliaries should be interpreted as having argument structure in their lexical specification.

This proposal can be supported further from another fact connected to grammaticalisation mentioned in the previous section. There we have seen that under a grammaticalisation approach there exists a conceptual connection through a semantic bond of some sort, between main verbs and auxiliaries. More specifically, I have mentioned that the notion of possession and its relation to the locative paradigm (Benveniste 1966, Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993), is involved in the grammaticalisation of perfective auxiliaries. And I propose that it is precisely this semantic bond between auxiliaries and main verbs which again will lead us to argument structure.

In connection with the latter, let us recall how the argument structure of a main verb is determined. In section 2. 1. 1 we have seen that the argument structure of a verb is derived from the basic properties of its meaning and that this meaning in turn, is encoded in Lexical Conceptual Structure (Jackendoff 1987, 1990, Hale & Keyser 1987, Rappaport & Levin 1986, inter alia.). Now, if this is how we derive the argument structure of main verbs, I propose, that since there is a semantic bond between main verbs and auxiliaries, it is possible to apply a similar reasoning to derive the argument structure of the latter. Namely, if the argument structure of a main verb is derived from its Lexical Conceptual Structure, and there is a semantic bond between main verb and auxiliary, then we can say that they have the same Lexical Conceptual Structure. Furthermore, by extension, if they have the same Lexical Conceptual Structure, it should be possible to say that both main verbs and auxiliaries have the same argument structure. For example, if the notion of argument structure refers to polyadicity or valency, whether auxiliary or main verb, no one would dispute the transitive or intransitive status of *have* and *be* respectively.

However, if both auxiliaries and main verbs are interpreted as having the same Lexical Conceptual Structure and by extension the same argument structure, this will immediately raise two questions. The most obvious question is how do we distinguish auxiliary and main verb uses, since it is undisputed that there exists some distinction at some level. The second question is, if we assume that there is no distinction in terms of argument structure and Lexical Conceptual Structure between main verbs and auxiliaries, how are we going to account for the gradual transitions of grammaticalisation. In order to answer the first question, I propose that the way to distinguish auxiliaries from main verbs is in the way these arguments are licensed in the syntax. I will leave this issue aside for the moment, since I will devote the whole of the following chapter to dealing with this issue. But for now, I will mention that this proposal is not unreasonable, because it correlates with the proposal of Speas (1990) who proposes that both functional and lexical categories have theta grids (or argument structures), but the difference is connected to how these arguments are licensed in the syntax. This proposal we will also see in great detail in Chapter III (section 3. 2).

Furthermore, in order to answer the second question, in chapter VII I will propose that although the argument structure of auxiliaries remains constant, what becomes affected through grammaticalisation is the in the first instance the Lexical Conceptual Structure of the verb and this is what I will interpret as being affected by semantic bleaching. And secondly, grammaticalisation is also connected to how the arguments are licensed in the syntax. Therefore, to conclude, the answer to the question of grammaticalisation will be found in the relation between Lexical Conceptual Structure, argument structure and the syntax. However, before I continue I will summarise the main points seen so far in this section.

2. 2. 5 Summary.

In this section I started off by looking at the proposals made in early transformational grammar in relation to the issue of whether auxiliaries should be treated as related to main verbs or whether they should be interpreted as an unconnected and discrete category. In section (2. 2. 1) we have seen that for English, auxiliaries and main verbs can be distinguished clearly in terms of their behaviour in certain syntactic contexts. These are the verb raising contexts and they involve negation, floating quantifiers and yes-no question formation. However, in section (2. 2. 2) we have seen that this distinct behaviour of auxiliaries and main verbs does not extend to other environments. Namely, it is the case that in the context of VP-deletion and the

Doubling Constraint of Ross (1972a) both auxiliaries and main verbs behave alike (as in 15). Furthermore, the situation is even more unclear because even in verb raising environments, some main verbs have to behave as auxiliaries, as we have seen is the case for *be* in (17) and other main verbs can behave both as auxiliaries and main verbs (as *have* in 18). Therefore, in order to clear this uncertainty Pullum and Wilson (1977) conclude that main verbs and auxiliaries should be treated as related categories. And the fact that they are related can be supported further from the approach of grammaticalisation. Under this approach the connection between main verbs and auxiliaries is to be seen primarily as a conceptual one and secondarily as a continuum through the grammaticalisation chain.

Finally, in section (2. 2. 4) I have asked the question of whether auxiliaries could be interpreted as having argument structure. We have seen how in the Principles and Parameters framework auxiliaries are assumed not to have argument structure. We have seen that this is a desirable theoretical move on two grounds: on the one hand it assumes a connection between main verbs and auxiliaries but it distinguishes them in terms of their semantic content. Secondly, this discrete dichotomy aligns auxiliaries together with other members of the class of functional categories. However, I questioned this assumption and I have proposed that auxiliaries just as main verbs, should have argument structure in their lexical specification. The reasons I have provided are connected to the process of grammaticalisation, where the connection between auxiliaries and main verbs is seen both as a semantic bond and as a continuum. The fact that the connection is a conceptual one suggests that auxiliaries and main verbs have the same Lexical Conceptual Structure and if this determines the argument structure of a verb then there is no reason to believe that the same cannot be the case for auxiliaries.

2. 3 Conclusions.

In this chapter I started off by determining what issues are involved in the conception of argument structure. We have seen the argument structure of a verb encodes the basic polyadicity or valency of a verb (that is, whether a verb requires one, two or three arguments) and that this can be derived from its basic meaning which is encoded at the level of Lexical Conceptual Structure. Additionally, we have also seen that argument structure is stored in the lexicon, or the level at which all the linguistic knowledge of speakers is stored. Furthermore, we have seen how in the Principles and Parameters framework the notion of theta grids correlates with the notion of argument structure.

In section (2. 2. 2) the connection between main verb and auxiliaries was established and under the auspices of grammaticalisation (section 2. 2. 3), this connection should be viewed both as a semantic bond and as a continuum. This latter view has led to the proposal that the connection between main verbs and auxiliaries should be seen at Lexical Conceptual Structure and argument structure. In contrast the difference between main verbs and auxiliaries should be seen in terms of how these arguments project into the syntax. Furthermore, grammaticalisation should be explained through the relation between Lexical Conceptual Structure, argument structure and the syntax.

Now, the study of auxiliaries under the heading of Grammaticalisation has not been restricted to the members of the framework just discussed in section (2. 2. 3). In the following chapter I will present how this diachronic process has been dealt with within the generative tradition. In particular the work on Middle English modals of Roberts (1992) will be shown. Furthermore, there we will also see how according to this author the grammaticalisation process of modal auxiliaries involves the earlier mentioned notion of thematic roles and theta grids. In relation to the latter, the way a main verb becomes an auxiliary is interpreted as the process where a theta marking lexical item loses the ability to do so. Again we will see how this view is related to the discrete dichotomy between main verbs and auxiliaries discussed in section (2. 2. 4) and we will also see how in consequence, the process of grammaticalisation in this framework is interpreted as an abrupt one. Furthermore, I will return to the issue of theta grids and we will see that the assumption of auxiliaries not having theta grids (or arguments structure) is connected to a theory internal issue. However, we will see how there is a number of authors who do assume that at least some auxiliaries have some sort of semantic information connected to participants in their lexical specification. Here I am referring to the work of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) who distinguish between Lexical and Functional auxiliaries. In these works, it is precisely the Lexical auxiliaries which are proposed to contain this information. However, in the light of Speas (1990) I will take this latter proposal further and claim that not only Lexical but also their Functional auxiliary counterparts have information related to theta grids (or argument structure) in their lexical specification.

Chapter III

Auxiliaries and Grammaticalisation

3. 0 Introduction.

In the previous chapter I have concluded that both auxiliaries and main verbs are to be interpreted as having argument structure and that this gives us the constant element required in the dynamic process of grammaticalisation. However, I also proposed that the difference between main verbs and auxiliaries was to be accounted for, in relation to how these arguments project in the syntax. The purpose of this chapter is to show how this could be done. And bearing on the latter, I will propose that the way auxiliaries project their arguments into syntax is by entering into some sort of parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicates which is in some way reminiscent of double theta marking.

In order to approach this subject, I will first return to the issue introduced in the previous chapter concerning theta grids (or argument structure) and how it relates to the main verb / auxiliary dichotomy. Furthermore, we will see that the fact that auxiliaries are conceived as lacking theta grids is motivated theory internally, and this stems from the interaction between the Projection principle and Theta Theory. We will see in section (3. 1. 2), how this interaction is responsible for disallowing doubly theta marked syntactic argument positions. In this chapter I suggest that this is too strong a constraint and, in line with Guasti (1996), I propose that the latter is possible, if we relax the theta criterion in some way, and this will allow auxiliaries to retain their theta grids.

The assumption of auxiliaries being able to assign theta roles is not as strange as one would think, it has already been suggested by a number of authors. In section 3. 1. 3, I will present the work of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) who distinguish between Lexical and Functional auxiliaries where the former are in fact, assumed to be theta role assigners. Furthermore, a similar idea has also been applied

by Roberts (1992), to explain the grammaticalisation process of the Modern English system of modal auxiliaries. Inspired by earlier work by Lightfoot (1979), in this analysis, a theta marking modal is reanalysed and becomes a non-theta-marking and functional element. Again we will see, that this type of approach accommodates the discrete functional / lexical divide and the main verb / auxiliary dichotomy discussed in the previous chapter. However, in the previous chapter (section 2. 2. 4) I also mentioned that the conception of functional categories as discrete entities enters into conflict with the dynamic process of grammaticalisation. Most importantly, in sections (2. 2. 3) and (2. 2. 4), we saw that the grammaticalisation process of auxiliaries is characterised by the loss of arguments. Nevertheless, under the approach in which we consider the connection between auxiliaries and main verbs to be a continuum from lexical to functional, I have suggested that the loss of arguments cannot be an abrupt process. This appears to be contradicted by the reanalysis approach of Roberts (1992), where a theta-marking element becomes a non-theta marking one. Grammaticalisation, seen in this way, suggests that the loss of arguments is indeed an abrupt process. I therefore propose instead, to reinterpret the Functional / Lexical distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) in the light of Speas (1990) who proposes that all functional and lexical categories have theta roles to discharge. Both Functional and Lexical auxiliaries have theta grids and theta roles to assign and both the auxiliary/main verb divide and grammaticalisation, will be then accounted for, in terms of how these arguments project into syntax.

This chapter is organised as follows: In the first part I will present the work of Pollock (1989) and we will see how the concept of non-thematic role assigning auxiliaries takes on a role of theoretical significance in the explanation of the contrast between English and French verb movement. Secondly, we will look at Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) and then we move onto Roberts' (1992) analysis of grammaticalisation incorporating a version of the Functional /Lexical distinction. The second part of this chapter will treat the Theory of Licensing of Speas (1990). Finally in part three I will provide a tentative proposal of how the latter could be applied to the area of auxiliaries and will present other proposals made in the literature suggesting parasitic relations among arguments, between auxiliaries and embedded predicates. More specifically, I will look at Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) Argument Transfer Mechanism and Rosen's (1989) Light Merger mechanisms.

3. 1 Auxiliaries and Theta Roles.

3. 1. 1 Verb Raising: French Auxiliaries and Main Verbs.

In Chapter II (section 2. 2. 2) we saw how in English auxiliaries differ from main verbs in raising contexts. We saw how the former, in contrast to main verbs, can appear to the left of *not*, VP-adverbs such as *often* and floating quantifiers such as *all* (examples in 8 and 9).

In French, in contrast, the syntactic behaviour observed for English auxiliaries only, applies to main verbs and auxiliaries alike. This means that both can appear to the left of the negative element '*pas*' (*not*), VP adverbs such as '*souvent*' (*often*) and floating quantifiers such as '*tous*' (*all*) as illustrated in the contrast between the data in (28) representing main verbs and in (29) representing auxiliaries ¹¹.

- (28) a. Jean (*n'*) aime *pas* Marie.
Jean (*n'*) love-3.sg not Mary.
Jean does not love Mary.
- b. Jean embrasse *souvent* Marie.
Jean kiss-3.sg often Mary.
Jean often kisses Mary.
- c. Mes amis aiment *tous* Marie.
My-pl friend-pl love-3.pl all Mary
My friends all love Mary.
- (29) a. Il (*n'*) a *pas* compris..
He (*n'*) have-3.sg not understand-part.masc.sg
Pierre has not eaten.
- b. Il est *rarement* satisfait.
He be-3.sg seldom satisfy-part.masc.sg.
He is seldom satisfied
- c. Ils sont *tous* satisfaits.
They be-3.sg all-pl satisfy-part.masc.sg.
They are all satisfied.

Furthermore, subject-inversion in yes-no questions is also possible with both auxiliaries and main verbs again as illustrated in (30).

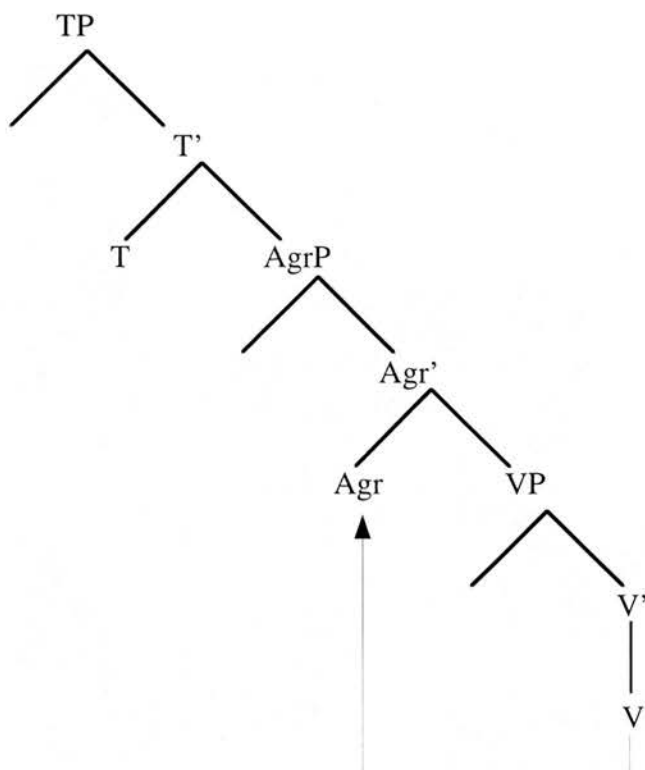
¹¹ Data in (28) and (29) from Pollock (1989: 367 and 370 respectively).

- (30) a. Aime-t-*il* Marie ?
 Love-3.sg-t-he-cl.3.sg Mary ?
 Does he love Mary.
- b. A-t-*il* compris?
 Have-3.sg-t-he-3.sg.cl understand-part.masc.sg
 Has he understood.

In section (2. 2. 2) of the previous chapter we saw how the distinct behaviour between auxiliaries and main verbs in English was accounted for in terms of verb raising to AUX/INFL. In connection with the latter, we have seen how auxiliaries in contrast to main verbs are allowed to move from inside VP to AUX/INFL in order to pick up inflection. Main verbs instead remain inside the VP and acquire inflectional morphology via the lowering operation of Affix-Hopping. Or in terms of more recent terminology, via post Spell Out V to I movement (Chomsky 1995). French, in contrast, we have just seen that main verbs and auxiliaries behave alike in the verb raising contexts illustrated in (28) to (30). In French, the fact that both main verbs and auxiliaries are able to appear to the left of ‘pas’ (*not*), ‘souvent’ (*often*) and ‘tous’ (*all*), and are able to undergo subject inversion as in (30), is generally understood to follow from the necessity of both main verbs and auxiliaries to undergo raising to AUX/INFL to pick up inflection (Emonds 1978, Chomsky 1981, Pollock 1989, *inter alia*).

The different scope for verb movement between English and French auxiliaries and main verbs has been related to the inflectional properties of both languages. This idea lies at the heart of Pollock’s (1989) analysis of the phenomenon. In addition, Pollock (1989) is also the pioneer of what has come to be known in the literature as the “Split-INFL Hypothesis”. This hypothesis says that the components of INFL, AGR (for agreement) and T (for tense), instead of being just features of INFL, should head their own syntactic projections as AGRP and TP respectively. Verb raising to INFL is, therefore, reinterpreted as verb movement or raising to AGR as illustrated below:

(31)



Further, in (31) we also see how under the “Split-INFL Hypothesis”, instead of INFL selecting for the VP directly (as in Chomsky 1981), the TP selects for AGR and in turn, the VP is selected by AGR¹². Then the V moves out of the VP into Agr in order to pick up inflection and further up into T. Under the new terminology for INFL as AGR, the raising to AGR is then possible only for English auxiliaries and for both auxiliaries and main verbs in French. The conditions under which these movements are possible are less important to our investigation but what is crucial is the reasoning behind the difference between English and French which in Pollock (1989) has been related to the nature of AGR and its interaction with Theta Theory.

In connection with the nature of AGR, languages can either be inflectionally rich or poor. In Pollock’s (1989) terminology in languages such as English where agreement is virtually absent, AGR is said to be “opaque”. In contrast, for inflectionally rich languages such as French, it is “transparent”. Whether AGR is “opaque” or “transparent” is important because it has an effect on the percolation of theta roles of the embedded verb up to AGR through the intervening auxiliaries. For instance, “Opaque” AGR blocks this percolation of theta-roles and its “transparent” correlate

¹² In Belletti (1990) it is argued that the relative ordering of TP > AgrP as in Pollock (1989), should instead be AgrP > TP.

allows it to. Therefore, according to Pollock (1989) for English the ungrammaticality of examples such as (8a to 8d) concerning main verbs can be explained in terms of a violation of the Theta Criterion. In English, being inflectionally poor, AGR is “opaque” and the percolation of theta-roles is blocked. In contrast, since French AGR is “transparent” and percolation is not blocked, verb movement is allowed for both main verbs and auxiliaries. In this thesis, however, I will not be concerned with the subject of verb raising directly, but what is of interest at this point is, that this subject leads to the question of why this percolation of theta roles is possible in the first place. The answer lies in that this process is possible, because auxiliaries themselves are assumed to be unable to assign theta roles as we see mentioned explicitly in Chomsky (1986b):

“ ... and that aspectual elements are “defective” verbs that select but do not Θ -mark VP ... ” (Chomsky 1986b: 73)

Furthermore, in the previous chapter we saw that in the Principles and Parameters framework, theta marking is connected to the licensing of arguments in the syntax which is governed by the module of the grammar called Theta Theory. Furthermore, in the following section we will see how at the time of Pollock’s (1989) work, the assumption that auxiliaries do not theta mark their arguments stems from a theory internal issue related to the workings of the Projection Principle and its interaction with Theta Theory.

3. 1. 2 Theoretical Implication.

In Chomsky (1981) the Projection Principle is interpreted as the principle responsible for imposing the conditions on how subcategorisation frames of lexical items projected from the lexicon enter the structural representations in syntax. It works closely together with the Theta Criterion which I present below:

“Each argument bears one and only one Θ -role, and each Θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument.” (Chomsky 1981: 36)

In other words, this principle ensures that there be a bi-unique relation between the number of argument positions and theta roles to be assigned to them, in that there must be a necessary one to one correspondence. Furthermore, the Projection Principle ensures that this lexical information be carried through all levels of a

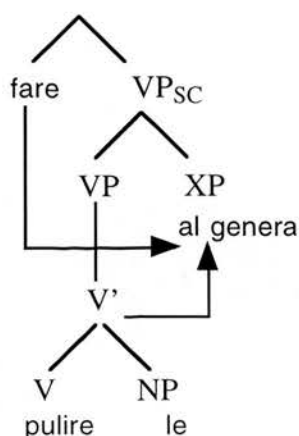
derivation by means of traces. Let us see how this applies to auxiliaries. In the previous section we saw how according to Chomsky (1986b) auxiliaries select but do not Θ -mark their VP. I will briefly explore the reverse situation. If auxiliaries were able to assign their own theta roles, this would mean that they would have their own arguments which would have to be satisfied or licensed in the syntax in some way. In applying the latter to an auxiliation structure, it would mean that two theta marking domains would be found: the one encoded in the lexical entry of the auxiliary and the one belonging to the embedded main predicate. These theta marking domains would then be competing for a limited number of syntactic positions as I illustrate below:

(32) The children have eaten apples.

In () both *have* and *eat* are transitive verbs requiring at least two arguments each, but only two argument positions are available in the structure to license all four arguments. As a result, in an auxiliation structure, the biuniqueness condition imposed by the Theta Criterion would be violated. Namely, if the auxiliary was to license its own two arguments, it would have to be through the two argument positions available and these positions would then become doubly theta marked. If this were to be the case, this would then pose a problem for the above mentioned Theta Criterion and by extension, also for the Projection Principle, since the former principle ensures that there be a strict one to one correspondence between theta roles and argument positions. From a theoretical point of view, this problem is undesirable and in order to circumvent it, auxiliaries are assumed to be devoid of theta grids and then the theta roles of the embedded predicate (as *the children* and *apples* in 32) are said to percolate up through the structure. Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous chapter (section 2. 3. 4) the assumption of auxiliaries not having theta grids is further desirable, because it aligns auxiliaries with other members of the functional categories. However, as I concluded in the same section, in this thesis I take the view that auxiliaries do have theta grids and the reasons I provided at a conceptual level were connected to the process of grammaticalisation. The question now will be how we can incorporate this view into a theory that disallows doubly theta marked syntactic positions. As an answer, I propose that the first obvious step to overcome this problem is to relax the strict one-to-one correspondence of the Theta Criterion. Furthermore, a similar suggestion is made in Guasti (1996) in order to explain a situation of syntactic sharing of arguments in Romance causatives. Although I will not go into a detailed discussion on this issue here, I will nevertheless highlight at this point what is interesting from her proposal. Namely, Guasti (1996) proposes a revised version of the Theta Criterion which allows a single DP to receive more than one theta role as long as the theta roles are assigned to the same position and this is possible if theta role assignment is done under government rather than sisterhood as I

illustrate below (tree structure from Guasti 1996: 300):

(33)



In (33) 'al generale' (*to the general*) is the participant acting as the causee and it receives two theta roles: one from the infinitive verb 'pulire' (*clean*) or compositionally from the VP containing the infinitive and the second theta role is provided by the causative verb 'fare' (*make*). Again as mentioned above, I will return to this issue in Chapter V (section 5. 4). However, for the moment I will take this on board, and I propose further that the way auxiliaries license their arguments is by entering into some sort of parasitic relation with their embedded predicate. The question, however, of how this relation is established will be deferred until section (3. 2) where I will present the work of Speas (1990) who claims that both functional and lexical categories assign theta roles. However, for the moment, I will mention that the view of auxiliaries being conceived as having thematic structure is not an unreasonable one. We find precursors of this idea in Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991) who distinguish between Functional and Lexical auxiliaries and this difference is accounted for, precisely, in terms of thematic roles. This will be the subject of the following section.

3. 1. 3 Lexical and Functional Auxiliaries.

Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991) are devoted to the study of auxiliaries mainly in the Romance languages. They show that the defective nature of auxiliaries in terms of thematic roles cannot always be sustained.

These authors distinguish between two broad types of auxiliaries *Lexical* and *Functional*. The former group is represented mainly by modal auxiliaries such as Modern Spanish 'poder' (*can*), 'deber' (*must*) and 'querer' (*want*) exemplified earlier in examples (21) to (23) in section (2. 2. 3) of the previous chapter where the process of grammaticalisation and the idea of a continuum was introduced to explain the connection between main verbs and auxiliaries. Furthermore, passive auxiliaries such as 'ser' (*be*) as exemplified below from Modern Spanish, are also to be included under the *Lexical* rubric.

- (34) Las manzanas fueron comidas (por los niños).
The-fem.pl apples-fem.pl be-pret.3.pl eat-part.fem.pl (by the-masc.pl child-
masc.pl)
The apples were eaten (by the children).

In contrast, a clear example of the *Functional* group includes the auxiliary *have* in analytic futures common to earlier stages of Romance languages which in later periods developed into the synthetic future morphology known to us today (as Modern Spanish 'cantaré', Modern French 'chanterai'). This periphrastic future is exemplified in (35) for Old Spanish:

- (35) Dar-te hé un exemplo.
Give-Inf-you-dat.cl.sg have-1.sg a-masc.sg example-masc.sg.
I will give you an example.

(Jui 197A 21-2, from Lema and Rivero 1991: 238)

According to Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991) this *Lexical / Functional* distinction is not arbitrary but manifests itself in terms of distinct preposing strategies applicable to the embedded predicates these auxiliaries combine with. Two types are distinguished: Phrasal Preposing (VP-Preposing) and Long Head Movement (LHM). *Lexical* auxiliaries on the one hand allow the former and *Functional* ones allow the latter type as exemplified below in (36a) for Modern Spanish 'poder' (*can*) and in (36b) for Old Spanish 'haber' in the analytic future:

- (36) a. **Cantar** Habaneras **puede**, pero no quiere. VP-Preposing
 Sing-Inf Habaneras can-3.sg, but not want-3.sg
 He is able sing Habaneras but he does not want to.
- b. **E mandar** vos **he** dar todo. LHM
 And order-Inf you-dat.cl.sg have-1.sg give-Inf everything-masc.sg
 And I will order you to give everything.

(ZIF: 128 from Lema and Rivero 1991: 244)¹³

In broad terms, the differences between VP-Preposing in (36a) and LHM in (36b) revolve around whether there is X^{\max} or X^0 level movement, whether the movement is sensitive to the root / embedded distinction and whether it is subject to locality conditions. However, here I am not concerned with which are the exact conditions characterising each type of movement¹⁴. Nevertheless, we point out two important differences involving the data in (36). On the one hand, in (36a) movement crucially involves NPs (i.e., 'Habaneras') and not clitics (i.e., 'vos') as in (36b). And on the other hand, VP-Preposing, in contrast to LHM, is not blocked by negation as illustrated in (37) for 'deber' (*must*) another one of the *Lexical* auxiliaries mentioned above.

- (37) Cantar Habaneras **no** debo.
 Sing-Inf Habaneras not must-1.sg
 Sing Habaneras I must not.

In other words, what we have in (37) is the preposing strategy involving what has become known as a Weak Negative Island (in the sense of Ross 1983). In (37) VP-Preposing allows negation to intervene between the preposed infinitive 'cantar' and modal 'deber' which is barred for LHM. Furthermore, this contrast between VP-Preposing and LHM is taken in Lema and Rivero (1991) as an indication that whenever phrasal constituents escape Weak Island Effects it is the case that theta government is involved. Therefore, as these authors conclude, since Lexical auxiliaries are the ones allowing intervening negative elements these are to be considered theta-role assigners. In contrast, their Functional counterparts are to be considered non-theta role assigners.

¹³ In this example we provide a slightly different gloss and translation. Lema and Rivero (1991) translate this example as "and I will order (them) to give everything to you" where the dative clitic 'vos' has been translated as a third person plural clitic instead of second person.

¹⁴ For data and discussion see Lema and Rivero (1991).

In Chapter IV, section (4. 1. 1), we will see how Lema and Rivero (1991) apply the Functional / Lexical distinction to aspectual auxiliaries in Romance languages. In the following section we will see how a similar idea is employed in Roberts (1992), to explain the grammaticalisation process of the English system of modal auxiliaries.

3. 1. 4 Middle English Modals and Grammaticalisation.

Middle English modals or more precisely, pre-modals, pattern together with their Modern English correlates in following the general distribution of auxiliaries in the context of inversion in yes-no question formation and negation (cf. section 2. 2. 1 in Chapter II and section 3. 1. 1 above). That is, in both linguistic periods modals invert with their subjects and are able to appear to the left of the negative element as we illustrate for Modern English in (38) and for Middle English in (39)¹⁵:

- (38) a. Will you say that again ?
 b. I cannot judge this question.
- (39) a. ... so **mote they** nedes go home on fote.
 ... so must they needs go home on foot.

(Visser, § 1694)

- b. A blynde man **kan nat** juggen wel in hewis.
 A blind man cannot judge well in colours.

(1387: Chaucer, *Troilus* 2, 21)

However, Middle English pre-modals contrast with their modern counterparts in that they were able to appear inflected for tense and agreement (i.e., in non-finite forms) and could be iterated. In addition, some of them were able to take direct objects. These characteristics we illustrate in the contrast between the ungrammatical Modern English examples in (40)¹⁶ and their grammatical Middle English counterparts in

¹⁵ Examples in (38) to (41) taken from Roberts (1992: 241, 242 and 239). Example (41c) taken from Martens (1994: 16).

¹⁶ However, examples of iterated modals are possible in certain dialectal variants of the English speaking community. Here I am referring, for instance, to certain American and Scottish dialects where sequences such as *may can* ... are perfectly acceptable.

(41) below:

- (40) a. * I **shall can** answer.
b. * If I **had would**, I had could done it.
c. * **Will** you castles and Kingdoms ?

- (41) a. I **shall not konne** answer.
I shall not be able to answer.

(1386: Chaucer *CT*, B, in Visser § 1649)

- b. If he **hadwolde**.
If he had wanted to.

(1525 Ld. Berners, *Froiss.* II, 402, Visser § 1687)

- c. ...**Þ**att I **shall cunnenn** cwemenn Godd.
... That I shall have-ability-Inf please-Inf God.
... That I shall have the ability to please God.

(c1180, *Ormulum*, Denison 1993: 310)

- d. **Wultu** kastles and kinedomes.
Wilt-thou (do you want) castles and kingdoms.

(c1225: *Ancr. R.* 389; in Visser, § 559)

In Roberts (1992) the characteristics exemplified in (41) are taken as an indication that Middle English pre-modals did have properties of main verbs and as such, should be generated under V^0 as opposed to INFL as we saw was the case for Modern English in Chapter II (cf. section 2. 2. 2 and 2. 2. 3). Moreover, Roberts' (1992) conclusion appears to be supported by the fact that Middle English lacked dummy *do*-support for main verbs. This in turn, appears to be connected to the fact that the language during this period was in general inflectionally richer than is the case in Modern English. A further consequence of this inflectional richness, is that in Middle English main verbs show the general verb raising pattern we saw in section (3. 1. 1) was relevant for French main verbs: Middle English main verbs in contrast to their present day counterparts (which require *do*-support), allow subject inversion in interrogatives, as well as being able to appear to the left of negation as illustrated in (42):

- (42) a. **Se ye** not how his herte is endurid ... ?
 See you not how his heart hardened ... ?

(104, published in 1530: Anon., *the examination of Master William Thorpe*,
 44; Gray 1985: 13)

- b. My wyfe **rose nott**.
 My wyfe did not get up.

(Mossé 1968)

Therefore, in the light of the above, following Lightfoot (1979), Roberts (1992) suggests that present day modals have been subject to the phenomenon of Grammaticalisation. More precisely, they have undergone a process of ‘categorical reanalysis’. Hinging on the results of Lightfoot’s (1979) earlier work and his own work (cf. Roberts 1985), Roberts (1992) claims that this categorical reanalysis is related to the fact that “modals lost the capacity to assign theta roles and were reanalysed as functional heads” (Roberts 1992: 242). In addition, this process is purported to be further connected to a series of parametric changes¹⁷ which, broadly speaking, in Modern English are related to the loss of most inflectional paradigms except for 3rd. person singular morph *-s* and past tense *-ed*. This loss of morphology is, therefore, responsible for the verb raising patterns illustrated in Chapter II and Chapter III (sections 2. 2. 2 and 3. 1. 1 respectively) where we saw how Modern English main verbs in contrast to auxiliaries, are not able to move up to INFL (or AGR and TNS including Pollock’s (1989) terminology). Furthermore, this change in morphological paradigms has further influenced the emergence of free morphemes such as modals, infinitival *to* and dummy *do* which can be inserted under INFL (or AGR and TNS) instead. Again, let us leave this issue aside and return to the issue at hand which is the connection between auxiliaries and thematic roles.

Earlier we saw that the grammaticalisation of modals was interpreted as a phenomenon involving ‘categorical reanalysis’ involving the loss of the ability to be theta role assigners. However, in Roberts (1992) it is granted that some Middle English pre-modals are still able to enter into some sort of thematic relation. In this connection the root (or deontic) / epistemic distinction is appealed to. Firstly, root modality is generally identified with notions such as volition, obligation, ability and permission. In contrast, epistemic modality is associated with the semantics of belief, necessity, probability and possibility. Root readings are very often associated formally with control. It is generally accepted that in these types of structures the surface subjects are assigned a theta role by the controller main verb. Hence,

¹⁷ The exact specifications of these changes need not concern us here.

selectional restrictions for the type of subject are expected¹⁸. This in Modern English, for instance is the case for *want* which requires a sentient human subject as illustrated in the contrast between (43a) and (43b) below:

- (43) a. Mary wants a book.
b. * The stone wants a book.

In contrast, epistemic readings are often associated formally with raising predicates which are not considered to be theta role assigners. Instead, in these structures it is the embedded infinitival which assigns the theta role to the subject which then has to move to its surface matrix position in order to be assigned nominative case by INFL. As a consequence, since the surface subject is linked to the matrix raising verb structurally and not semantically (i.e., not thematically) it does not impose selectional restrictions on it as I illustrate below for *seem*:

- (44) a. Mary seems to be beautiful.
b. The stone seems to be beautiful.

Now, Roberts (1992) notes that in Middle English many pre-modals appear to fluctuate between root and epistemic readings. Here he does not give any specific examples to illustrate this point but I will assume that one such modal would be 'willan' (*to want*) as in (41d). Bearing on the above, this has the implication that these pre-modals also fluctuate functionally between being control and raising predicates. When finally the control and theta assigning option disappears, what is left, is a raising predicate which is a non theta role assigner. Now, the exact specifications of how this lexico-semantic change takes place is beyond the scope of this investigation¹⁹, since the object of this investigation is not the development of modal auxiliaries but of aspectuals such as *have* and *be* in perfectives and resultatives in Old and Modern Spanish. However, what is important at this point, is that we can now make a connection between the root and epistemic modals in Roberts (1992) and the Functional/Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). And the correlation is that the theta assigning root or deontic modals can be categorised as Lexical auxiliaries and the non theta assigning and epistemic modals can be classed as Functional ones. Furthermore, what we learn from the above is, that the most important characteristic of Lexical auxiliaries is that these import some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in. And this selectional restriction I will take as an

¹⁸ However, here we have to mention briefly that the correlation between selectional restrictions and theta-role assignment is not one that enjoys general acceptance as for instance in Rosen (1989) discussed below in section (3. 3).

¹⁹ In my view in Roberts (1992) this is not very clear either.

important feature for determining the lexical content of auxiliaries. I will leave this issue aside for the moment and I will return to it in the following chapter. There again, I will turn to the Functional/Lexical auxiliary contrast of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) in connection with aspectual auxiliaries in Romance languages, and I will also look for a correlate of root modals in the area of perfectives where it is clear that some sort of selectional restriction is present. However, for the moment I will return to the issue of grammaticalisation and reinterpret the reanalysis of a theta marking auxiliary into a non-theta-marking one as the situation where a Lexical auxiliary becomes a Functional one.

In section (2. 2. 3) of the previous chapter I have mentioned that in this investigation I take a more radical view in connection with the process of grammaticalisation than the one presented in Roberts (1991). I will take the view presented by the exponents of the grammaticalisation framework proper (Lehmann 1985, Heine et al. 1991, Heine 1993, Hopper and Traugott 1993). We saw how an important issue concerning the phenomenon of grammaticalisation is the idea of gradience. Implicitly we have seen that the latter means that the process whereby a lexical element becomes a functional one, is not an abrupt one. Namely, forms are said to undergo a succession of gradual transitions or stages. Furthermore, we have already seen repeatedly how under a grammaticalisation approach of functional categories, there is nuclear dichotomy between functional and lexical elements but a scale from “not at all” to “highly” grammaticalised (Haspelmath 1994). Therefore, if we assume Roberts’ (1992) idea that modals undergo a categorial reanalysis where a theta assigning element loses its ability to do so, then this suggests that grammaticalisation is an abrupt process. If this is the case, then as a consequence, how to account for the intervening stages of the gradual process grammaticalisation, is not very clear. It is precisely for this reason that in the previous chapter, it was proposed that the constant element in the connection between a main verb and an auxiliary is their theta grid or argument structure which is the most basic level of information contained in the lexical specification of a word. Therefore, bearing on the latter I now propose that not only Lexical but also Functional auxiliaries are to be endowed with theta marking abilities and that the difference between these, should then be accounted for in terms of how these arguments are licensed in the syntax. More specifically, I propose that auxiliaries enter into some sort of parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicates. How this happens and what arguments are affected by this process, I will tentatively explain below in sections (3. 2) and (3. 3) and in more detail in the remainder of this thesis. Furthermore, this proposal will then be in line with that of Speas (1990) who departs from the traditional (in the Generative sense) view that only lexical categories are endowed with theta marking capabilities. This will be discussed in the following section and in section (3. 3) I will reinterpret the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero

(1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) in the light of Speas' (1990) proposal.

3. 1. 5 Summary.

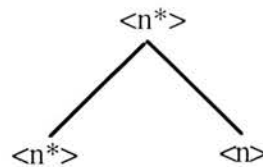
In this section we have seen how the assumption that auxiliaries do not have theta grids takes on theoretical significance in the explanation of verb raising phenomena (Pollock 1989). Auxiliaries as opposed to lexical verbs do not allow the percolation of theta roles from the embedded predicate. In section (3. 1. 2) we have seen that this assumption is connected to the strict one-to-one correspondence between arguments and structural positions imposed by the Theta Criterion which disallows doubly theta marked syntactic positions. This we have seen contradicts my earlier proposal that just like main verbs, auxiliaries should also have theta grids in their lexical specification. However, in order to accommodate this, I have suggested that the Theta Criterion be relaxed in some way. Also in line with Guasti (1996) I have proposed that auxiliaries are able to retain their theta grids if a single DP position is allowed to receive more than one theta role as long as the theta roles are assigned to the same position. Furthermore, in section (3. 1. 3) we have seen a precursor of the idea that some auxiliaries be considered theta role assigners in the Lexical auxiliaries of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). Additionally, in section (3. 1. 4) we have seen how a similar idea was employed in Roberts (1992) to explain the categorial reanalysis of the English system of modal auxiliaries. I proposed that we view grammaticalisation not as an abrupt categorial reanalysis but as a series of stages and we have seen how such a view enters into conflict with the discrete conception of functional categories of the generative framework. Therefore, in order to accommodate this dynamic view of auxiliaries, I have proposed that we reinterpret Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) Functional and Lexical auxiliary distinction in the light of Speas (1990) who assumes that both functional and lexical categories can be licensed by Theta Theory.

3. 2 Speas (1990).

3. 2. 1 Theory of Licensing: General.

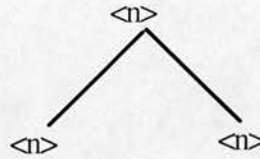
Speas (1990), following on earlier work by Higginbotham (1985), proposes a Theory of Licensing based on the assumption that well formed D-Structure representations can only be possible if every part of speech in a structure is licensed. More specifically, the concept of licensing advocated is directly linked to Theta Theory. In order for a given lexical item to be licensed in a structure, it must enter into a thematic relation with its sister and most importantly, according to Speas (1990), this applies to both lexical and functional categories alike. This issue will be discussed in greater detail below. However, for the moment I will mention that the greater implication is that not only lexical categories but also functional elements are able to have argument structures specified in their lexical entry. In addition, every place specified in the grid necessarily has to be able to appear in a syntactic structure. Therefore, all lexical items can be licensed by Theta Theory. This licensing process, however, can only be done through a restricted set of types of relations. Speas (1990) restates these relations in terms of modes of discharge of thematic roles which are to be interpreted as compositional operations performed on syntactic tree structure nodes. Three basic modes are proposed: Discharge, Merger and Binding²⁰. Additionally, these result from the combination of discharged or saturated (represented as <n*>) and/or undischarged or unsaturated (represented as <n>) positions. These modes of discharge we find illustrated structurally in (45) below (structures from Speas 1990: 71).

(45) a. Discharge:

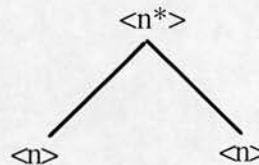


²⁰ These modes of discharge are based on Higginbotham's (1985) system which, in order to avoid redundancy, will not be discussed here. However, I will mention that Speas' (1990) system collapses the four mechanisms proposed by Higginbotham (i.e., Theta-Marking, Theta-Binding, Theta-Identification and Autonomous Theta-Marking) into the three mentioned above (viz. Discharge, Merger and Binding) and only when relevant will I mention the correspondence between the two systems.

b. Merger:



c. Binding:



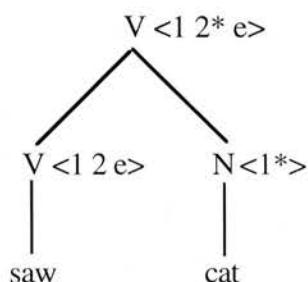
Since the structures represented in (45) require a lengthy and detailed discussion I will devote the next two sections to this purpose. Nevertheless, for the moment I will advance the hypothesis that according to Speas the type of mode of discharge relevant in any type configuration is dependent on the lexical properties (viz. whether functional or lexical category) of the lexical items involved. Discharge and Merger are the mechanisms relevant for categories belonging to the set of contentives (or lexical categories). These will be the subject of the following section. In contrast, members of the grammatical class (or functional categories) undergo the discharge mechanism of Binding and this I will discuss in section (3. 2. 3). Finally, in section (3. 3. 1) I will correlate Speas (1990) theory with the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema & Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991) which I have adopted in this thesis.

3. 2. 2 Licensing and Lexical Categories.

In the first instance, *Discharge* (or Theta-Marking in the sense of Higginbotham 1985) according to Speas (1990), primarily embodies the relationship between a lexical head and its satellites. As illustrated in (45a), here the head or host bears an unsaturated <n> grid and the satellite has a saturated <n*> grid. This takes place under the structural configuration of government and in the process of discharge the

grid of the head percolates up to the node which dominates the two sisters. As a result of this percolation, the theta grid of the host with the appropriate grid position of the satellite satisfied, is borne by this dominating node. The archetypal example of Discharge is the one instantiated in the relation between a verb and its complement which I illustrate below for transitive *see* and its NP complement *cat*. Here the verb has a grid which is not saturated and its objective DP satellite has a saturated one (structure from Speas 1990: 66)

(46)



In addition, the verbal grid of *see* in the structure represented in (4. 39) also includes what has come to be known in the literature as the Davidsonian <e> argument (of Davidson 1966) which I will leave undiscussed at present²¹. At the moment, however, I will continue with the presentation of the different discharge mechanisms and will turn to the second discharge mechanism I have mentioned as applying to lexical categories.

Merger (or Theta Identification in the sense of Higginbotham 1985) we have seen represented in structure (4. 38b) above and as illustrated there, it involves the saturation of open or unsaturated <n> positions through identification. It applies prototypically to relationships of modification. Adjectives and adverbs (as in *white wall* and *John walked rapidly*, Higginbotham 1985: 562) for instance, are generally taken to enter into such relationships. In modification structures understood as merger, equal status is given to both sisters and their relation in terms of semantics, is one of conjunction (as illustrated below):

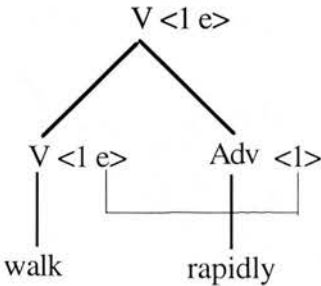
- (47) a. (*John*) *walked rapidly*: (Ee) walked (John, e) & rapid (e)
 b. *white house*: white (x) & house (x)

This semantic relation of conjunction which characterises this type of discharge mechanism, can be further translated in syntactic terms as a composite projection of the grid of both the modifier and the modifiee. This merger I illustrate below in (48a)

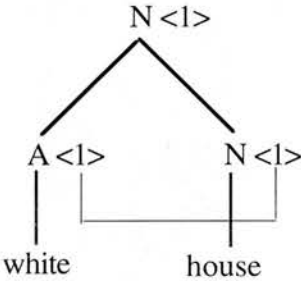
²¹ I will return to this issue below in section (3. 3. 3).

in the verbal domain for intransitive *walk* and in (48b) in the nominal domain for *house*. Furthermore, that identification has taken place is represented by a linking line joining the two merged positions (structure from Speas 1990: 67).

(48) a.



b.



Merger then, can be characterised as applying to strings containing two words belonging to the set of contentives involving two distinct theta marking domains. In the literature this type of analysis (although based on Higginbotham's own proposal) has been proposed for secondary predication structures such as depictives (Rapoport 1993) and resultatives (Hoekstra 1992, Levin & Rappaport 1995). These constructions I illustrate below in (49a) and (49b) respectively :

- (49) a. Peter ate the soup warm.
 b. The children ran themselves to exhaustion.

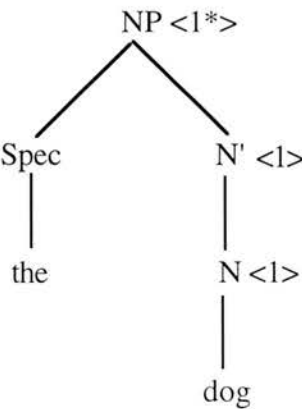
For the moment, however, I will not discuss this issue further and I return to it in Chapter V (section 5. 4) in connection with the analysis of the Modern Spanish 'tener' periphrastic resultative. Nevertheless, from the above we can conclude that in the instance of contentives two differentiated discharge mechanism can be postulated and that this depends on the number of theta marking domains involved. First, if only one single theta marking domain is involved we will then have the mechanism of Discharge. Secondly, in the case where two theta marking domains are involved we will then have an instance of the mechanism of identification or Merger. In section (3. 3. 1), I will be particularly interested in these two mechanisms

of Merger and Discharge in order to account for the difference between main verbs and auxiliaries. Finally, I propose further that the way to overcome the restriction on double theta marking domains imposed by the Theta Criterion (discussed in section 3. 1. 2) for auxiliaries, is related to this latter Merger mechanism and this is also in line with the proposal of Guasti (1996). In the following section, I turn to the last discharge mechanism proposed in Speas (1990) which is *Binding* and as mentioned in the previous section is relevant for functional or grammatical categories.

3. 2. 3 Licensing and Functional Categories.

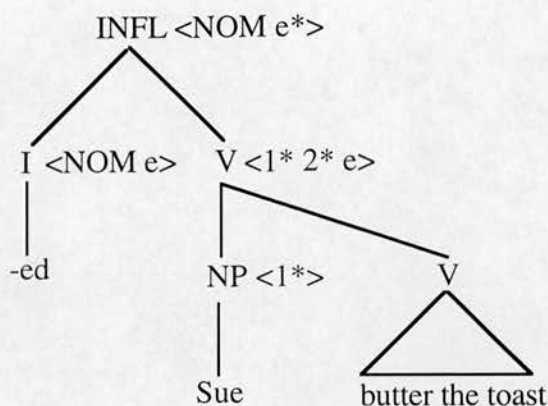
In section (3. 2. 1) it was mentioned briefly that parts of speech belonging to the set of the closed class of words undergo the discharge mechanism of *Theta Binding* represented graphically in (45c). In this structure we have seen how Theta Binding involves two sisters with undischarged $\langle n \rangle$ positions in their theta grid which are jointly discharged and cannot be further discharged because they are bound (this being represented in (45) as $\langle n^* \rangle$). Functional elements such as determiners (for instance *the* in *the dog*), quantifiers (*every*) and inflectional elements such INFL are theta binders²². This binding relation we illustrate below in (50a) for the NP *the dog* and in (45b) for the relation between INFL and the VP *butter the toast*. Note that in this latter structure INFL, due to its status as $[+V]$ category, has an $\langle e \rangle$ argument in its grid which is said to be bound together with the $\langle e \rangle$ role contained in the grid of the lower VP (also cf. the structure represented in 45).

(50) a.



²² Structure (50a) from Higginbotham (1987) quoted in Speas (1990: 67) and (50b) adapted from Speas (1990: 71).

b.



In sum, Binding is the relation instantiated in the dependency holding on the one hand, between an N category and its determiner in Specifier position²³ and between a functional head, INFL in this case, and the VP it selects. Furthermore, in contrast to Higginbotham (1985) who assumes that Theta Binders lack theta-grids, Speas claims that these do in fact have them. In this sense, functional categories are paired together with lexical categories in that they also have theta-grids. This claim is based on evidence provided by Safir and Stowell (1987) in the area of relational binomial quantifiers such as *each*. In the case of the functional categories of determiners and INFL, Speas (1990) claims that it is possible to posit theta-grids for these also on the basis of the type of selection involved in subcategorisation and the concept of Canonical Structural Realisation (in the sense of Grimshaw 1981). Bearing on this, Det and INFL then select arguments which are realised canonically as NP and VP. As a result, functional categories appear equated with their lexical counterparts at the level of theta grids (or argument structure). However, an important way in which functional and lexical categories are distinguished is in terms of which variables in the Lexical Conceptual Structure their respective arguments are linked to. In the first instance, functional categories cannot stand on their own and need to lean on the interpretation of another predicate. Or as Speas (1990: 116) puts it, “a functional head is semantically parasitic on a predication”. This type of relation we find illustrated for the lexical entry of the definite determiner below. Here we see that the sole argument encoded in the grid of *the* is identified with the property variable of the noun specifying that $p(x)$ is a non-empty set, instead of x which is the referential variable (Lexical Conceptual Structure taken from Speas 1990: 114).

²³ Here we have to note that Speas (1990) disregards the DP Hypothesis of Abney (1987).

3. 2. 5 Summary.

In this section we looked at the proposal of Speas (1990) who claims that both functional and lexical categories are put on an equal footing in that they are able to assign thematic roles. However, they are distinguished in the way these argument positions are licensed in a structure. Licensing is done via theta marking and based on Higginbotham (1985), Speas proposes three discharge mechanisms: *Discharge*, *Merger* and *Binding*. The first two being relevant for contentives and *Binding* applying to their functional counterparts. Furthermore, although functional and lexical categories are equated at the level of theta grids or argument structure they are still differentiated in the way the variables at Lexical Conceptual Structure are linked to these argument positions. In the following section we see how this idea will be applied in order to reinterpret the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994).

3. 3 Parasitic Relations.

3. 3. 1 Main Verbs and Auxiliaries.

In Chapter II (section 2. 2. 4) under a grammaticalisation approach and on the grounds that there exists some sort of semantic bond between main verbs and auxiliaries, I have proposed that both main verbs and auxiliaries have the same Lexical Conceptual Structure and by extension, the same Theta Grid (or argument structure). The difference, however, is to be accounted for in terms of how these arguments are licensed in the syntax. Furthermore, from what has been presented in the previous sections, we see that this idea is not as unreasonable as it might seem. Therefore, in order to account for the latter, I now suggest to include Speas' (1990) ideas into my proposal. I will first start with a brief characterisation of main verbs, since the situation is straightforward.

In section (3. 2. 2), we have seen that Discharge is the licensing mechanism characterising the relation between a verb and its satellites (or complements). Therefore, in the light of the latter the main verb will license its arguments through the mechanism of Discharge. This I will discuss and exemplify in more detail in Chapter V where I will address the contrast between main verb and the Lexical auxiliary 'tener'. Meanwhile, I will now turn to the characterisation of auxiliaries

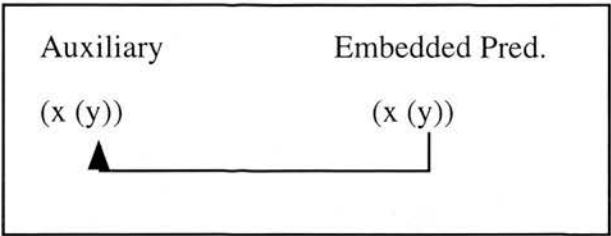
where the situation is more obscure, especially since we now have to incorporate the Functional/Lexical divide of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) to the main verb/auxiliary dichotomy. Nevertheless, what I propose is, that at the more general level there are two things to be considered in the characterisation of auxiliaries: First, the fact that as mentioned in section (3. 1. 2), an auxiliiation structure involves two theta marking domains competing for the same syntactic argument positions. Secondly, as mentioned in the previous section, an additional point to be considered, is the fact that functional categories need to lean on the interpretation of another predicate.

Therefore, inspired by the first point, I propose that the mechanism characterising the way how auxiliaries license their arguments in the syntax is Merger which in section (3. 2. 2) we have seen is the mechanism applying whenever two theta marking domains are available. Furthermore, above we have also seen how Merger applies to lexical categories and this immediately raises the following question: if this applies to lexical categories, how can we say that auxiliaries undergo Merger when they are part of the functional category class ? In order to answer this, I will mention again that under a grammaticalisation approach there is no clear dichotomy between functional and lexical elements but a scale from “not at all” to “highly” grammaticalised. If we apply the latter to auxiliaries, we find that Merger does not seem unreasonable, because it will help accommodate a system of auxiliaries arranged from the point of view of their degree of grammaticalisation. This takes us to the second issue mentioned above which is that auxiliaries are dependent on the interpretation of another predicate. In connection with the latter, I propose further to reinterpret the discharge mechanism of Merger as the situation where the auxiliary enters into some sort of parasitic relation with the embedded predicate. And in turn, this parasitic relation will give us the way to characterise the Functional / Lexical auxiliary divide.

In the case of Lexical auxiliaries, these can be characterised as being somewhere in between a lexical verb and a functional element and it seems reasonable to assume that Merger applies to concrete referential variables. Bearing on the latter, we have seen above (in section 3. 1. 4) how Lexical auxiliaries are characterised by importing some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved. Below (in section 3. 3. 3) we will see that this issue of selectional restrictions is important for the determination of the lexical content of auxiliaries in connection with argument structure related information. Therefore, bearing on the latter, for the moment I propose that the way Lexical auxiliaries license their arguments into the syntax is by entering into a parasitic relation with the individual arguments of the embedded predicate. This type of relation between auxiliaries and their embedded predicates I will call Heavy Merger and I illustrate graphically below for a transitive auxiliiation structure where I have used the notation of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) and

Grimshaw (1990) distinguishing the internal / external argument distinction in terms of a hierarchical structure.

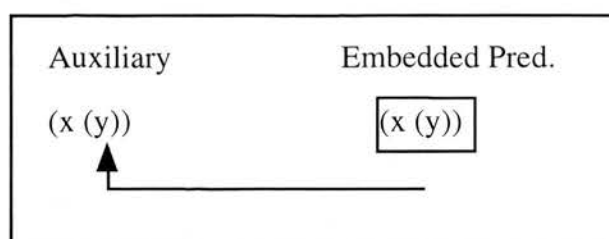
(52)



In (52) we find represented the fact that the internal argument position (y) of the embedded transitive predicate has Merged with the internal argument position (y) of the transitive auxiliary. This will be the way I propose in Chapter VI to account for the properties of Old Spanish perfective Lexical auxiliaries and for Modern Spanish ‘tener’ in the periphrastic resultative construction in Chapter V. However, I will not discuss this further for the moment, because we still have to know more about what is involved in the characterisation of Romance perfectives in general. This I will discuss in more detail in the following chapter where I will also return to the Functional / Lexical contrast in the area of Romance perfectives. Furthermore, I will provide preliminary evidence suggesting that for Romance perfective Lexical auxiliaries the parasitic relation crucially involves internal arguments and I will devote the remainder of this thesis to demonstrate that such a relation between auxiliaries is possible.

In contrast, for Functional auxiliaries, inspired by the fact that as we have seen above, functional elements need to be linked to abstract variables (as with INFL above), I propose that these auxiliaries should enter into a parasitic relation with the whole proposition of the embedded predicate rather than with the individual arguments as I have proposed to be the case for Lexical auxiliaries. However, in line with Speas (1990), this relation should really be called Binding, but for the sake of continuity I will call the parasitic relation between a Functional auxiliary and its embedded predicate Light Merger. This mechanism I illustrate graphically below for the same transitive auxiliation structure of (52) above.

(53)



In (53) we find represented the fact that the whole of the embedded predicate (including both the internal *y* and the external *x* arguments) are Merged into the internal argument position of the transitive auxiliary. However, Light Merger will not play a central role in this investigation, because as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis the main purpose of this investigation is to find evidence for the fact that at least some auxiliaries have information in their lexical entry which is not only operator-like but is more connected to arguments and these auxiliaries we have seen are the Lexical ones of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). Nevertheless, I will return to Light Merger briefly in chapter VI in connection with the Modern Spanish perfective. Therefore, for the moment, what we can conclude from the above is, that the mechanisms of Discharge, Heavy Merger and Light Merger will then provide us with three stages in the grammaticalisation process of auxiliaries. Furthermore, from what we will see in subsequent chapters, in the case of perfective auxiliaries the parasitic relation between auxiliaries and embedded predicates crucially concerns the internal argument of the auxiliary in some way. Furthermore, we will also see how the grammaticalisation process of perfective auxiliaries is connected through a weakening of this internal argument of the auxiliary. However, before I continue with the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries, in the following two sections, I will first present two proposals where a matrix verb has been described as entering into some sort of parasitic relation with an embedded predicate. Here I am referring to Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) lexicalist analysis of Light verbs in terms of an Argument Transfer Mechanism and in section (3. 3. 3), we will see how this proposal has been applied to the verbal domain of Romance restructuring verb constructions in Rosen (1989). The following two sections discuss how parasitic relations between verbs have been adopted elsewhere in the literature.

3. 3. 2 Argument Transfer Mechanism: Grimshaw and Mester (1988)

Grimshaw and Mester (1988) describe a Light Verb as a semantically empty verbal expression which has the basic anatomy of a verb but does not have independent theta-marking abilities. That is, taking into consideration the correlation between argument structure and theta-grids in the Principles and Parameters framework that we saw in Chapter II (section 2. 1. 2), these verbs can be characterised as having empty theta-grids but are not theta role assigners. However, these verbs with empty theta-grids as they stand, cannot project into syntax and license arguments and in order to be able to do this, they must acquire them from another argument taking element (for instance, another verb or a noun). This is achieved via an Argument Transfer mechanism which enables the transferal or merger of arguments of the argument taking lexical element into the argument structure of the Light Verb. This is the basis of the analysis proposed by Grimshaw and Mester (1988) for the Japanese transitive verb 'suru' (*do*). This verb in its Light Verb configuration forms a complex with an argument taking and theta-assigning (or transparent in their terminology) deverbal nominal which will be the source for theta marking in the clause. This deverbal nominal then through the lexical Transfer mechanism will pass on theta assigning abilities onto 'suru' which thereby acquires the ability of assigning thematic roles in the clause in some sort of parasitic fashion. This argument transfer mechanism I illustrate below (in 54a) for the argument taking nominal 'keikoku' (*warning*) which takes three arguments: an agent, a theme and a goal. Example (54b) below corresponds to the empty grid of the Light Verb 'suru' which only retains the property of being an accusative case assigner and (54c) corresponds to the 'keikoku' + 'suru' complex in (55) below²⁴:

(54) a. keikoku (agent, goal, theme)

b. suru () <acc>

c. keikoku (theme) + suru (agent, goal) <acc>

(55) John-wa murabito-ni [[ookami-ga kuru-to]-no KEIKOKU]-o shita.
John-top villager-to wolf-nom come-comp.gen warn-acc suru.
John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming.

In (54c) we see that through Transfer 'suru' has acquired the agent and goal

²⁴ (54) to (57) below taken from Grimshaw & Mester (1988: 212 - 213)

arguments of 'keikoku' leaving the nominal with the remaining theme argument. That is, only a subset of the arguments of the nominal have been transferred onto the empty grid of 'suru'. In addition, these authors also note a second transfer configuration where all the arguments of 'keikoku' including the theme, have been associated with empty positions in 'suru'. As a result, the nominal is left without theta-marking abilities. This I illustrate below:

(56) 'keikoku' () + suru (agent, goal, theme) <acc>

(57) John-wa murabito-ni [*ookami-ga kuru-to*]-no KEIKOKU-o shita.
 John-top villager-to wolf-nom come-comp.gen warn-acc suru.
 John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming.

From the complex structures in (54c) and (56) we see that the two arguments which always undergo transfer to 'suru' are the agent and the goal and this the above authors relate to the fact that argument structures are always hierarchically structured and characterised by prominence relations. As we have seen in Chapter II (section 2. 1. 3), the agent is always the most prominent argument in the thematic hierarchy, followed by experiencers and goals. Finally themes are the least prominent arguments. Grimshaw's (1990) the *proto-argument-structure* is repeated below for convenience:

(58) (Agent (Experiencer (Goal/Source/Location (Theme)))

In the 'suru' complex then, it appears to be the case that the more prominent the arguments, the more likely it is that transfer will take place. As seen from (58), agents and goals are more prominent than themes, hence it is likely that these arguments will always undergo transfer in the 'suru' type of construction.

In the case of the theme, however, there is an asymmetry in its relation to the goal. Above we have seen that the difference between (55) and (57) is that in the former case, the theme appears within the scope of the nominal as opposed to the latter where it appears realised outwith the scope of 'keikoku'. The only restriction holding on 'suru' complexes is that if one argument has to appear inside the scope of the nominal then only one argument (and never two) be allowed. This always has to be the theme and the goal is excluded. Although the reasoning behind this is not very clear to me, in these author's view, this follows from the fact the theme needs

be close to the theta-marker. In contrast, goals being more oblique arguments than themes do not have to rely on closeness and this interacts with the hierarchical structure of argument structure where goals appear to be more prominent than themes.

Although Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) prominence theory applied to Light Verbs explains why in example (54c) above the theme as opposed to the goal argument is able to appear within the scope of 'keikoku', it is not clear what regulates the fluctuation of inside versus outside themes at the more general level especially, since in both instances this theme is assigned nominative case and in both configurations, 'suru' assigns accusative case to 'keikoku'. The answer to this question, however, goes beyond the scope of our investigation. Nevertheless, what is of interest for this investigation at this point is, that if Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) theory is correct, for the transitive Light Verb 'suru', the Argument Transfer mechanism can be conceived to apply to both external and internal arguments.

However, in the light of the proposal put forth in this investigation, it seems to be questionable to postulate verbal lexical items which lack or have an underspecified argument structure. The very fact that a Light Verb "knows" that it requires the borrowing of arguments would suggest that there is some information implicit in its lexical specification inducing this parasitic relation, since as Grimshaw and Mester (1988) note Light 'suru' also has a Heavy or theta-marking counterpart. The contrast is treated as if they were associated with different discrete lexical entries which brings us back to the central question of this thesis which is the connection between main verbs and their auxiliary counterparts. However, here I am not intending to provide a new analysis for the Japanese Light verb 'suru', since this does not constitute the object of this investigation²⁵ and hence, I will leave this as an open question. Nevertheless, what we gain from the latter is that the Argument Transfer Mechanism can be interpreted as an instance where a parasitic relation is established between a matrix and an embedded element and therefore, an analysis involving this type of relation between arguments is not completely out of the question. In the following section we will see how in the verbal domain, a similar proposal has been applied to the analysis of Romance restructuring constructions in Rosen (1989).

²⁵ See Dubinsky (1997) for an alternative proposal.

3. 3. 3 Romance Restructuring: Rosen (1989).

Restructuring is a phenomenon described by a number of authors in connection with a certain class of verbs in Romance languages (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Burzio 1981, Rizzi 1982, Piccolo 1985, inter alia.). These verbs fall within three major subclasses and I will illustrate these from Italian. These classes are aspectuals such as ‘cominciare’ (*to begin*), ‘continuare’ (*to continue*); modals such as ‘dovere’ (*must*), ‘potere’ (*can*), ‘volere’ (*want*) and other verbs such as ‘andare’ (*to go*) or ‘venire’ (*to come*), ‘stare (per)’ (*to be about to*). It has been observed that when these verbs combine with infinitival complements, they behave in a special way with respect to the syntactic phenomena referred to as clitic climbing and Long Object Preposing²⁶.

First, clitic climbing refers to the phenomenon where a weak form of direct or indirect object pronoun moves out of its canonical post-verbal position to a proclitic pre-verbal position. For restructuring constructions clitic climbing is understood to be optional and for non-restructuring verbs it is ruled out completely. This contrast we illustrate below for Italian with the modal desiderative ‘volere’ 59a) and for a non-restructuring counterpart such as ‘odiare’ (*to hate*) in 59b)²⁷.

- (59) a. Mario *lo* vuole leggere.
Mario it-acc.cl want-3.sg read-Inf
Mario wants to read it.
- b. * Mario *lo* odia leggere.
Mario it-acc.cl hate-3.sg read-Inf
Mario hates to read it.

In addition, Long Object Preposing can be defined as the phenomenon where an object of an embedded predicate raises to the matrix subject position. It has been described in connection with two constructions: object preposing in the context of the impersonal ‘si’ construction and what has come to be known as the *tough*-construction. The former we find illustrated below where we see how Long Object Preposing is possible in the impersonal ‘si’ construction in the context of restructuring verbs (60b) but impossible with their non-restructuring counterparts

²⁶ In connection with Italian restructuring has been described as affecting auxiliary selection an issue I will not discuss here. However, for data and discussion see Burzio (1986).

²⁷ In this section examples (59) to (61) have been taken from Burzio (1986: 322-323) and (63) to (64) from Rizzi (1982: 26). These examples have also been quoted in Rosen 1989).

(61b).

- (60) a. Si voleva proprio leggere questi libri.
Si want-3.sg really read-Inf these-masc.pl book-masc.pl
We really wanted to read these books.
- b. *Questi libri* si volevano proprio leggere.
These-masc.pl book-masc.pl Si want-1mp.3.sg really read-Inf.
These books we really wanted to read.
- (61) a. Si odiava proprio leggere questi libri.
Si hate-1mp.3.sg really read-Inf these-masc.pl book-masc.pl
We really hated to read these books.
- b. * *Questi libri* si odiavano proprio leggere.
These-masc.pl book-masc.pl Si want-3.sg really read-Inf
These books we really wanted to read.

The *Tough*-construction on the other hand, involves structures where certain predicates (such as *tough*, *good*, *easy*, *difficult*, *pleasant*) combine with infinitivals. This we illustrate below for English where the adjective *pleasant* appears together with *to study* in its infinitival form. In addition in (62b) we see how the object of the infinitival (*biology*) appears in its Surface Structure derived subject position:

- (62) a. It is pleasant to study biology.
b. Biology is pleasant to study.

Returning to Italian, object raising in the *tough* -construction is possible in the context of restructuring verbs but not with their non-restricting counterparts as illustrated in (63) below for 'cominciare' (*to begin*) and for 'convincere' (*to convince*) in (64).

- (63) a. E' facile cominciare a cantare questa canzone (...).
Be-3.sg easy-sg begin-Inf to sing-Inf this-fem.sg song-fem.sg (...).
It is easy to start to sing this song (...)
- b. *Questa canzone* è facile da cominciare a cantare (...).
This-fem.sg song-fem.sg be-3.sg easy-sg of begin-Inf to sing-Inf (...).
This song is easy to start to sing.

- (64) a. E' difficile convincere Mario a finire questo libro prima di lunedì.
 Be-3.sg'difficult-sg convince-Inf Mario to finish-Inf this-masc.sg book-
 masc.sg before [di] Monday.
 It is difficult to convince Mario to finish this book before Monday.
- b. * *Questo libro* e' difficile da convincere Mario a finire prima di lunedì.
 Be-3.sg'difficult-sg convince-Inf Mario to finish-Inf this-masc.sg book-
 masc.sg before [di] Monday.
 This book is difficult to convince Mario to finish it by Monday.

Rosen (1989) proposes that these restructuring verbs should be treated as Light verbs in the above sense of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) and the main reasoning behind this is that these verbs are cross-linguistically related to modal auxiliaries. In Chapter II (section 2. 1. 1) we have seen how there are two levels of information which are relevant to the lexical entry of a verb. On the one hand, there is Lexical Conceptual Structure which encodes the inherent semantic content of the verb in the form of variables and semantic primitives (Jackendoff 1987, 1990, Hale and Keyser 1987, Rappaport and Levin 1986, inter alia.). On the other hand there is argument structure which encodes the more basic information of a verb referring to polyadicity or valency. We have also seen that there is a fundamental principle ensuring the non-trivial relation (or linking) of variables encoded in Lexical Conceptual Structure onto arguments at argument structure. However, what we have not seen yet is that sometimes this information contained as variables in the Lexical Conceptual Structure of a verb need not always fully surface into the syntax and the function of these (unsaturated) Lexical Conceptual Structure variables, is to add material relevant to interpretation but not to the syntax (Jackendoff 1990).

Rosen takes this latter point into consideration and claims that the reason why Light Verbs have no Theta-Grid (or argument structure) is because the variables of the Lexical Conceptual Structure have failed to map or link onto argument positions. I will illustrate this point with the Light Verb *want*. For this verb, Rosen (1989) claims that *want* can actually have two Lexical Conceptual Structures: one that takes an experiencer external argument and a theme internal argument called *want*₁ characterised in (65a). And the second *want*₂, which differs from *want*₁ in that it takes an event instead of a theme as in (65b)²⁸.

- (65) a. *want*₁: [x] desires [Thing y] to come into x's possession.

²⁸ Examples in (4. 24) to (4. 26) taken Rosen (1989: 125-126).

- b. want₂: [[x] desires [Event y] to occur.

In addition, in the instance of the Lexical Conceptual Structure of *want*₂ Rosen (1989) claims that it can be associated with two further argument structures: one that requires the above mentioned experiencer external argument and an event internal argument which maps onto an IP (or AGRsP) clausal complement²⁹ and corresponds to:

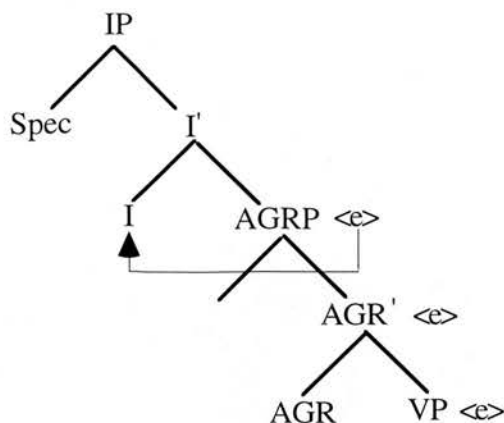
- (66) Bill wanted to buy a bicycle.

The second argument structure is the one corresponding to a Light Verb where no variables of Lexical Conceptual Structure map onto argument structure. The argument structures for all three options, *want*₁ and *want*₂ with event internal argument and as a Light verb we find illustrated below. Here Rosen (1989) also uses the argument structure notation of Grimshaw (1990) and Grimshaw and Mester (1988) adopted in this thesis and discussed in section (2. 1. 3).

- (67) want₁: (x (y)) <e>
Exp Th
- want₂: a. (x (y)) <e>
Exp Ev
- b. () <e>

Furthermore, as we see from (67), Rosen's (1989) argument structure representations also depict what is known in the literature as the Davidsonian (Davidson 1966) event argument (here notationally as <e>). In following Higginbotham (1985), this argument purports to characterise the lexical content of verbs and most importantly, the fact that from a semantic point of view, verbs denote events. Additionally, as we have seen from section (3. 2. 1), all argument positions in a grid must be satisfied and the <e> role of any predicate must always be related to an inflectional element (for instance, TENSE). Hence, this <e> role must be discharged to an INFL node in a syntactic representation. This process I illustrate in the tree structure below:

²⁹ Here Rosen assumes that event internal arguments map canonically into these IP complements instead of CPs as is commonly assumed for control predicates.



In returning to the discussion of *want*, in the case of (65b) above, the result is then an instance of *want* with an empty theta-grid (represented by empty parenthesis) which requires the Argument Transfer Mechanism in order to be able to project into syntax. Additionally, as we have seen in the previous section, this mechanism involves the situation where a Light verb enters into some sort of parasitic relation with an argument taking element and transfers its arguments onto its own empty theta grid. This mechanism, however, Rosen (1989) renames as Light Merger³⁰ and I illustrate below for Italian ‘volere’ where it combines with transitive ‘leggere’ (*to read*). Finally, the fact that ‘volere’ is a Light Verb which has an empty theta-grid is indicated by an empty parenthesis³¹.

(69) Transitive verb:

‘volere’	() <e>)	
		→ ‘volere leggere’ (x (y)) <e> <e>
‘leggere’	(x (y)) <e>)	‘want to read’

³⁰ Note that although I have borrowed the terminology from Rosen (1989) the mechanism employed in this thesis is totally different.

³¹ Examples from Rosen (1989: 127).

The process of Light Merger then ensures that when ‘volere’ (in its Light Verb function) combines with the infinitive ‘leggere’, the outcome is interpreted as a transitive complex verb where the argument structure is that of the embedded verb. That is to say, that for ‘volere leggere’ the outcome is a transitive complex verb. Furthermore, also as illustrated in (69), the fact that merger has taken place also involves the merger of <e> roles. Furthermore, this lexicalist approach to restructuring is interpreted as an instance of complex predicate formation or the process by which the matrix and embedded predicate become a single unit or complex verb. Therefore, the fact that the restructuring Light verb and the embedded infinitives form a complex predicate explains that both clitic climbing (illustrated in 59) and Long Object Preposing (in both impersonal ‘si’ and *tough*-construction, illustrated in 60 and 61) are possible in this construction. And this is because what these movements have in common is that they have to comply to strict locality conditions. This means that the moving objective DPs (either full or as a clitic) can do so only within clause boundaries.

However, the above lexicalist view contrast with earlier syntactic approaches to restructuring (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Burzio 1981, Rizzi 1982, Piccolo 1985, inter alia.). In these approaches restructuring generally involves the syntactic movement of the embedded infinitival VP into the domain of the matrix clause either by left-adjoining it to the matrix V (in the sense of Rizzi 1982) or as a daughter of the matrix VP (in the sense of Burzio 1986)³². These two approaches I illustrate in (70) and (71) respectively³³:

- (70) a. Maria deve [S darlo a Francesco]
 b. Maria [V lo deve dare] a Francesco.
 “Maria must give it to Francesco”
- (71) a. [VP₁ V₁ NP₁ [S PRO [VP₂ V₂ NP₂]]]
 b. [VP₁ V₁ [VP₂ V₂ NP₂] NP₁ [S PRO ---]]

Furthermore, because these restructuring verbs do not constitute the main object of

³² In Baker (1988) this is viewed as an instance of X⁰ level movement (or incorporation) which takes place covertly at LF.

³³ Structures in (70) taken from Rizzi (1982: 33) and the ones in (71) taken from Burzio (1986: 336)

this investigation, I will leave aside this issue of whether restructuring should be accounted for in terms of a lexicalist approach such as as Rosen (1989) or as a syntactic movement operation. Nevertheless, what I find interesting in Rosen's (1989) lexicalist approach is the fact that Light Merger involves some sort of parasitic relation involving arguments among a matrix and an embedded predicate. However, the problem I find with her proposal of Light Merger is similar to the one I mentioned for the Argument Transfer Mechanism of Grimshaw and Mester (1988). Again it seems questionable to postulate verbal lexical items which lack or have an underspecified argument structure. Rosen (1989) addresses this issue specifically and mentions that it is necessary to treat these restructuring verbs in the light of Grimshaw and Mesters' (1988) proposal, even though they are not totally empty in terms of their semantics. Namely, in her view, the fact that for instance, 'volere' can add nuances of illocutionary force is somewhat independent of this verb's ability of having an argument structure proper or allow the licensing of arguments. Nevertheless, although I agree that operator-like semantic information should be taken as being independent from argument related information, again it is not very clear whether a restructuring verb such as 'volere' is devoid of the latter. In order to support this I will make a final correlation. Rosen's (1989) modal restructuring verbs are nothing other than the deontic modal Lexical auxiliaries in the sense Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) discussed above. And more specifically in section (3. 1. 4) we have seen that an important characteristic of Lexical auxiliaries is that they import some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in. Furthermore, this was interpreted as an important feature for determining the lexical content in terms of argument related information of auxiliaries. In connection with the latter we have seen that the selectional restriction of deontic modals is connected to the requirement of a [+human] sentient subject. However, Rosen (1989) also addresses these selectional restrictions but claims that:

"... selection must be a relation between the arguments in the syntax and the L(lexical) C(onceptual) S(tructure). It actually has very little to do with argument structure. "
(Rosen 1989: 164)

And the fact that the linking process is not related to argument structure she bases on the assumption that argument structure is hierarchically structured in terms of prominence relations much in the manner of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) and Grimshaw (1990) discussed in Chapter II (section 2. 1. 3). However, even as this latter author notes:

"The a(rgument)-structure for a predicate is taken to be a

reflection of its lexical semantics, so that the a(rgument)-structure of a predicate should be derivable from key characteristics of its meaning. As a consequence of this, a(rgument)-structure cannot be freely altered by rules, since an argument has whatever a(rgument)-structure properties it has by virtue of its role in the lexical meaning of the predicate and not by stipulation..” (Grimshaw 1990: 3).

Furthermore, in the light of the above, we can then conclude that by the very fact that ‘volere’ / *want* has to occur with a verb with a particular kind of subject (i.e., an [+human] experiencer subject) this means that it does in fact require “at least” this argument and by extension it cannot be taken as lacking an argument structure and being semantically empty in terms of argument related information. This can be finally supported from Jackendoff (1987) who claims that “selectional restrictions are essentially explicit information that the verb supplies about its arguments” (Jackendoff 1987: 385) and if this is so this information forms an integral part of its argument structure. In the following three chapters I will take this characteristic of Lexical auxiliaries as occupying a central role in the characterisation of Modern and Old Spanish resultative/perfective auxiliaries. As mentioned above, in Chapter IV, I will return to the Lexical / Functional auxiliary contrast as applied to Romance perfectives and I will address the question of what the selectional restriction is connected to in these perfective Lexical auxiliaries. I will first summarise what we have seen so far in this section.

3. 3. 4 Summary.

In this section I started off by providing a tentative proposal of how to apply the proposal of Speas (1990) to the area of auxiliaries. I proposed that the licensing mechanisms of Discharge, Merger and Binding would account for both the main verb / auxiliary dichotomy and the Functional / Lexical auxiliary divide. In the first instance, a main verb will license its arguments through the mechanism of discharge. For auxiliaries I have proposed that these should enter into a parasitic relation with the embedded predicate. We have seen that Lexical auxiliaries have argument related information in their lexical specification and that Merger requires the link with concrete referential variables. Therefore, I proposed that this mechanism is the one

involved in the licensing of arguments of these Lexical auxiliaries and this was called Heavy Merger. In contrast, for Functional auxiliaries, inspired by the fact that functional categories undergo Theta Binding and need to be linked to abstract variables, I proposed that these auxiliaries enter into a parasitic relation with the whole of the embedded predicate. Furthermore, in order to show that the proposal of parasitic relations between verbs is not unreasonable I have presented the Argument Transfer Mechanism of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) in section (3. 3. 2) and the Light Merger Mechanism of Rosen (1989). We have seen that what these analyses have in common is that they are based on the strict / discrete contrast between functional and lexical categories. But specifically from Rosen (1989) we have been able to conclude that the concept of verbal lexical items which lack or have an underspecified argument structure is questionable, specially in the light of the presence of selectional restrictions. In the following section I will conclude this chapter and I will provide a brief introduction of the issues treated in Chapter VI.

3. 4 Conclusion.

In this chapter I started off by looking in more detail at the assumption that auxiliaries do not have theta grids and we have seen how this applies to the work of Pollock (1989). Auxiliaries as opposed to main verbs, do not allow the percolation of theta roles from the embedded predicate. In section (3. 1. 2) we have seen that this assumption is connected to the strict one-to-one correspondence between arguments and structural positions imposed by the Theta Criterion which disallows doubly theta marked syntactic positions. However, we have seen that this strict correlation can be relaxed in some way and in line with Guasti (1996) I have proposed that auxiliaries are able to retain their theta grids, if a single DP position is allowed to receive more than one theta role as long as the theta roles are assigned to the same position. Furthermore, in section (3. 1. 3) we have seen precursors of the idea that some auxiliaries be considered theta role assigners. These we have seen are the Lexical auxiliaries of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). Furthermore, in section (3. 1. 4) we in Roberts (1992) this idea takes on a central role to explain the categorial reanalysis of the English system of modal auxiliaries. However, in order to accommodate the view that the grammaticalisation process of auxiliaries cannot be interpreted as an abrupt categorial reanalysis but as a series of stages, I have proposed to reinterpret Lema and Rivero's (1991) and Rivero's (1991, 1994) Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction in the light of Speas (1990) who assumes that both functional and lexical categories can be put on an equal footing in that they are able to assign thematic roles. However, they are distinguished in the way these

argument positions are licensed in a structure and the three mechanisms of *Discharge*, *Merger* and *Binding* are proposed. The first two being relevant for lexical or contentive categories and *Binding* applying to their functional counterparts. I have asked the question of how these mechanisms could be applied to the domain of auxiliaries. And in section (3. 3. 1), I proposed that the licensing mechanisms of *Discharge*, *Merger* and *Binding* would account for both the main verb / auxiliary dichotomy and the Functional / Lexical auxiliary divide. In the first instance, a main verb will license its arguments through the mechanism of discharge. For auxiliaries I have proposed that these should enter into different types of parasitic relations with their embedded predicates. Since Lexical auxiliaries have argument related information in their lexical specification and *Merger* requires the link with concrete referential variables, I proposed that this latter mechanism is the one involved in the licensing of arguments of these Lexical auxiliaries. This mechanism I called Heavy *Merger*. In contrast, for Functional auxiliaries, inspired by the fact that functional categories undergo Theta Binding and need to be linked to abstract variables, I proposed that these auxiliaries enter into a parasitic relation with the whole of the embedded predicate. Furthermore, in order to show that the proposal of parasitic relations between verbs is not unreasonable I have presented the Argument Transfer Mechanism of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) in section (3. 3. 2) and the Light *Merger* Mechanism of Rosen (1989).

In the following chapter I will return to the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) in the area of Romance perfectives. I will show the main morphological properties characterising these Romance perfectives and we will also see that some of these languages are characterised by displaying the auxiliary selection property. I will return to the issue of selectional restrictions in connection with Romance perfective auxiliaries and I will propose a equivalent construction to the root or deontic modals discussed in this chapter, in the area of perfectives. I will propose the periphrastic resultative construction which is the precursor of the perfective and is involved in its grammaticalisation path. On the basis that in this construction the auxiliaries involved have been described either as lexical verbs or as Lexical auxiliaries and the fact that resultatives are object oriented and I will propose that the selectional restriction involved in Romance Lexical auxiliaries is connected in some way to internal arguments.

Chapter IV

Romance Perfects and Grammaticalisation

4. 0 Introduction.

In the previous chapter (sections 3. 1. 3 and 3. 1. 4) we looked at the Lexical and Functional auxiliary distinction of Rivero (1991) and Lema and Rivero (1991) and its relevance to the process of Grammaticalisation of Modern English modals in the work of Roberts (1992). We have seen that the auxiliaries categorised as Lexical are mainly the ones expressing root or deontic modality. It is precisely these latter auxiliaries which are considered to be theta role assigners. Finally, how this theta role assignment can be done was asked and a preliminary assumption based on the Theory of Licensing of Speas (1990) was provided. In section (3. 3. 1) I have proposed that auxiliaries enter into some sort of parasitic relation with the embedded predicate which involves either the arguments themselves or the embedded predicate as a whole unit. I have called these parasitic relations Heavy and Light Merger respectively and in turn, I have proposed these to represent the Lexical / Functional auxiliary contrast. Here, however, I will concentrate mainly on determining what property makes a Lexical auxiliary lexical. Therefore, the principal aim of this chapter is to give more ground to this proposal and in order to do this, I will examine the properties of Romance perfective auxiliaries.

In this chapter I will return to Rivero (1991) and Lema and Rivero (1991) in the area of Romance perfectives and in section (4. 1. 1) we will see that the Lexical / Functional distinction in perfectives is related not only to whether VP-Preposing is possible, but also to the property of auxiliary selection and to the morphological property of participial agreement. I will look for evidence of theta marking in perfective auxiliaries which is not connected to VP-Preposing and I will concentrate

on examining the properties involved in auxiliary selection. Additionally, I will look for some equivalent to root or deontic modals in the area of perfectives. In order to do this I will turn to the grammaticalisation path of perfectives which has often been described as incorporating a preliminary stage that involves the related resultative construction (Bassols de Climent 1956, Harris 1982, Vincent 1982, Suter 1984, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, *inter alia*). In this construction the auxiliaries involved have been described either as lexical auxiliaries or as lexical verbs (Mattoso Camara 1972, Suter 1984). From here I will then look for some correlation in the area of perfectives and we will see that in some languages these can be ambiguous between a perfective and a resultative reading. It is precisely these languages which Rivero (1991) and Lema and Rivero (1991) describe as having perfective systems involving Lexical auxiliaries. Furthermore, I will also show that this can also be connected to the strength of the auxiliary selection rule and I will search for the property which is responsible for making the auxiliary selection rule in these languages strong. In answer to this question I will then propose that what resultatives and strong auxiliary selection rules have in common is the fact that they are object oriented. An important step in this proposal will be the characterisation of internal arguments in terms of notions connected to aspectual composition (Verkuyl 1972, 1989, Krifka 1989, Smith 1991).

This chapter is organised as follows: First, in section (4. 1. 1) I return to the Lexical / Functional auxiliary distinction of Rivero (1991, 1994) and Lema and Rivero (1991) in the area of perfectives and I present a general description of Romance perfectives. Section (4. 2) will be devoted to a discussion of the grammaticalisation path of perfectives and the more general description of resultatives and I highlight the object-driven property of this latter construction. In section (4. 3) I present the data involved in Romance perfectives in more detail and I introduce the issues involved in auxiliary selection. And finally, in section (4. 4) I look at auxiliary selection in more detail and in section (4. 5) I conclude by examining the semantic properties of unaccusative verbs in more detail.

4. 1 Romance Perfects.

4. 1. 1 Romance Perfects and the Functional / Lexical Distinction.

Lema and Rivero (1991) mention that among Romance aspectual auxiliaries there is both synchronic and diachronic variation with respect to the Lexical / Functional distinction. For instance, they point out that Italian '*avere*' is Lexical. Modern

French 'avoir' and Old Spanish 'aver' are hybrid. Finally, on the Functional scale are Rumanian 'avea' and Modern Spanish 'haber'. The main factor contributing to this distribution among Romance perfective *have* is whether the participial complements involved are able to undergo VP-Preposing in the context of a Weak Negative Island (as illustrated in 37). This we have seen in Chapter III (section 3. 1. 3) is the diagnostic proposed by Lema and Rivero (1991) to determine the lexical properties of auxiliaries. As illustrated below in the contrasting grammatical and ungrammatical examples from Italian (72a), Modern French (72b) and Modern Spanish (72c) we see that there is also a great deal of variation among Romance perfectives in this area (examples from Lema and Rivero 1991: 248).

- (72) a. Mangiato la torta non ho.
 Eat-part.ø the-fem.sg cake-fem.sg not have-1.sg
 Eaten the cake I have not.
- b. * Lu ce livre Marie n'a pas.
 Read-part-ø that-masc.sg book-masc.sg Marie not' have-3.sg not.
 Read that book Marie has not.
- c. * Leído ese libro María no ha.
 Read-part.ø that-masc.sg book-masc.sg María not have-3.sg
 Read the book Maria has not.

From (72) we see that VP-Preposing is only possible with Modern Italian 'avere' and according to Lema and Rivero (1991) this is an indication that this auxiliary is a Lexical one. In contrast, Modern French 'avoir' and Modern Spanish 'haber' disallow this and therefore they are called Hybrid and Functional respectively. We have seen that it is only Lexical auxiliaries which are considered to be theta role assigners. However, in this investigation I will not use VP-Preposing as a diagnostic for determining the lexical properties of perfective auxiliaries, the reason being of a practical nature. In the introductory chapter of this thesis it was mentioned that one objective of this investigation was the study of Old Spanish perfectives. Although these will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter VI, I will advance here that I will disagree with Lema and Rivero's (1991) classification of Old Spanish 'aver' as being a Hybrid auxiliary. In order to support this claim no examples are given but their conclusion is based on the fact that VP-Preposing "has not been attested". However, for independent reasons, I will claim that Old Spanish has in fact, a system of Lexical auxiliaries. In order to support this claim, I will investigate on the one hand, other factors influencing the Functional / Lexical distinction of Romance

perfectives mentioned in Lema and Rivero (1991) and on the other, I will look for an equivalent construction such as root modality for modals where theta assignment is in some way clear in the area of perfectives.

In the first instance, the construction that I propose as a correlate of root modality in the area of perfectives, is what is known in the literature as a resultative. This construction, we will see in the following section, is involved in the Grammaticalisation path of perfectives which has been described as involving the drift from resultative to perfective (cf. Bassols de Climent 1956, Yllera 1980, Harris 1982, Vincent 1982, Suter 1984, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, Heine 1993, Trask 1996, *inter alia.*). In the second instance, the other factors mentioned by Lema and Rivero (1991) as influencing the lexical properties of auxiliaries are whether perfects in these languages are sensitive to the auxiliary selection rule and related to this latter rule, whether participles display the formal property of agreement. These subjects will be discussed in greater detail in section (4. 3).

4. 2 The Grammaticalisation Path of Perfects.

4. 2. 1 Resultatives.

A resultative is a type of construction which in terms of its semantics is associated with a present state reading (Yllera 1980, Harre 1991, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). The state is said to persist at the Time of Utterance and at the same time it is understood that it has been brought about as the result of past action.

From a structural point of view, resultative constructions can take a variety of forms. One such form is the one known from Germanic languages which has been the subject of extensive research (Simpson 1983, Rappaport and Levin 1989, Carrier and Randall 1992, Rapoport 1993 and 1995, Hoekstra 1088 and 1992, Levin and Rappaport 1995, *inter alia.*). These resultatives take the form of (73) and (74) below and can be based both on transitive and intransitive verbs (examples from Carrier and Randall (1992: 173)).

(73) Transitive:

- a. The gardener watered the tulips *flat*.
- b. The grocer ground the coffee beans *(in)to a fine powder*.
- c. They painted their house *a hideous shade of green*.

(74) Intransitive:

- a. The joggers ran their Nikes *threadbare*.
- b. The kids laughed themselves *into a frenzy*.
- c. He sneezed his handkerchief *completely soggy*.

From the examples above we see that this type of resultative construction is formed by a VP with a direct object and a result predicate which is predicated of this object DP. Furthermore, as noted in Hoekstra (1995), the category of the result predicate can be nominal, adjectival and prepositional but never verbal. However, we will leave these resultatives aside for the moment and I will return to them briefly in the following section and in more detail throughout Chapter V. At present, I will mention an additional type of resultative construction which is also common in Western European languages and which is more relevant to the discussion at hand.

According to a number of authors (Harris 1982, Vincent 1982, Harre 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994 *inter alia*.) there is a type of periphrastic resultative which generally involves a stative verb either *have* or *be*. In this construction, these two verbs combine with an adjectival or verbal participle denoting a “change of state” such as for instance *die*, *break* or *destroy*. It is common to find *have* in combination with participles which are transitive and *be* is most often found in the context of intransitives as we illustrate below from Old Spanish. Here ‘aver’ (*have*) and ‘ser’ (*be*) combine with ‘perder’ (*lose*) and ‘facere’ (*make*) and are used intransitively³⁴.

- (75) a. Et auedes perdudos los parientes et los amigos.
And have-3.sg loose-part.masc.pl the-masc.pl relative-pl and the-masc.pl
friend-masc.pl.
And you have lost relatives and friends.

(ESP: II 152v52)

- b. La camara era toda fecha de alabastro ...
The-fem.sg chamber-fem.sg be-past-3.sg make-part.fem.sg of alabaster-masc.sg.
The chamber was all made of alabaster.

(TROY: 180)

Furthermore, this type of periphrastic *be* and *have* resultative has been described by a number of authors as being the construction involved in the Grammaticalisation path

³⁴ Example (75a) from Rivero (1991: 272) and (75b) from Yllera (1980: 221) glosses and translation are my own.

of perfectives (cf. Bassols de Climent 1956, Harris 1982, Vincent 1982, Bybee et al. 1994, Heine 1993, Trask 1996, inter alia.).

For instance, this process is mentioned for Old English in Trask (1996) where the perfective is described as the result of “the reanalysis of an original stative construction” (Trask 1996: 138). I illustrate this below³⁵ :

- (76) Ic h[æ]fde hine gebundenne.
 I had him bound.
 I had him bound (= I had him in a state of being bound)

Additionally, in the course of the Grammaticalisation process this construction has been described as being ambiguous between the current state interpretation of the resultative and the past action with current relevance reference characteristic of perfectives. As we will see in Chapter VI (section 6. 2. 1), this is the case for Old Spanish in certain contexts (also in this connection see Yllera 1980, Vincent 1982, Harre 1991). However, more relevant to our matter at hand, in some languages it is still the case that this resultative/perfective ambiguity is latent. For instance, it has been described in Harris (1982) for the Calabrian and Sicilian Modern Italian dialects and in Parisi (1976), for substandard examples which I illustrate below (example from in Parisi 1976: 78):

- (77) Luisa ha lavate tutte le finestre.
 Luisa have-3.sg wash-part.fem.pl all-part.fem.pl window-part.fem.pl.
 Luisa has washed all the windows.

Furthermore, according to Bybee et al. (1994), this ambiguity between a resultative and a perfective reading becomes most apparent in the situation where these verbs combine with the above mentioned “change of state” verbs.

Finally, this resultative/perfective ambiguity is interesting for this investigation because it leads to a correlation with the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). In the previous section we saw how Modern Italian ‘*avere*’ (*have*) is described as being a Lexical auxiliary and from what we have just seen one characteristic is that this coincides with the resultative / perfective ambiguity which is prevalent in some Modern Italian dialects. In Chapter VI we will see how this is also the case for the Old Spanish perfective system. I will claim this to be a system of Lexical auxiliaries rather than a Hybrid one as seen in Lema and Rivero (1991). Therefore, to conclude, I propose that for perfectives, the resultative construction is the equivalent of root modals for modal auxiliaries. Hence, whenever a perfective structure is ambiguous between a resultative and a perfective reading, I propose that this will be reflected through the

³⁵ Example from Trask (1996: 137)

lexico-semantic properties of the auxiliaries involved. These properties we have seen were interpreted in connection with thematic role assignment and the claim is that auxiliaries in the context of a perfective / resultative ambiguity are more lexical than the ones where this ambiguity is not relevant. This is not surprising, since in the literature (Mattoso Camara 1972, Bybee et al. 1994, Trask 1996) it is often mentioned that participles appearing in periphrastic resultatives generally appear in combination with *be* and *have* functioning as main lexical verbs. The next question is therefore, how do we ascertain that theta role assignment is in operation for these Lexical auxiliaries.

Bearing on the latter, in Chapter III we have seen that one important characteristic of Lexical auxiliaries is that these import some sort of selectional restriction connected to arguments into the construction they are involved in. For example, in connection with root modals (section 3. 1. 4), we have seen that these selectional restrictions are connected to the requirement of a human sentient subject as we find illustrated in the contrast between (43a) and (43b) repeated below for convenience.

- (78) a. Peter wants a book.
b. * The stone wants a book.

For resultatives, in contrast I suggest that the selectional restriction is connected in some way to the object rather than the subject. Two reasons can be provided to support this claim: The first one is related to the more general function of objects and connected to their contributions to sentential aspect which is discussed in greater detail in the following section. The second reason is related to a more general property of resultatives which is that they are object oriented (discussed in section 4. 2. 3).

4. 2. 2 Objects and Subjects.

On the more abstract level, one thing suggesting that the selectional restriction involved in resultatives has to be connected to some property related to objects is that these constructions are connected to the notion of aspect (rather than to modality). And in this area, it is a well known fact that subjects and objects contribute differently to the phenomenon of sentential aspect (Dowty 1979, Verkuyl 1989)³⁶. More specifically, it concerns the aspectual notion of *telicity*. At the more

³⁶ However, as argued in Molla Alliod (1997) subjects can sometimes be aspectually significant. I will not deal with this issue here because I am only interested in providing a broad characterisation of this phenomenon pointing in the direction of the object / or internal argument.

general level, this notion involves the concept of whether the actions denoted by the verbs have reached completion or not. In other words, *telicity* refers to whether verbs are interpreted as being bounded or unbounded in time (Comrie 1976, Smith 1991, inter alia.). Verbs denoting an action which has reached the point of completion are said to be *telic*. In contrast, the ones lacking this reference to completion points are said to be *atelic*. Although I will return to this issue in section (4. 5. 3) below, it is generally understood that telic and atelic predicates can be modified naturally by certain adverbials. The former by frame adverbials such as *in an hour* and the latter by durative ones such as *for hours* as illustrated below:

- (79) a. John built a house in an hour.
b. Mary ran for hours.

In connection with the matter at hand, depending on the referential properties of nominals only objects and not subjects, can induce a telic or atelic interpretation. It involves the interaction between telic and atelic verbs with *quantized* (i. e., definite, quantified and indefinite singular DPs) and *cumulative* DPs (mass and bare plural DPs)³⁷. A verb such as *build* can either have its inherent telic interpretation if appearing in combination with a quantized object. However, if the same verb appears with a cumulative object an atelic interpretation would be forced.

- (80) a. Mary built a house (in a month).
b. Mary built houses (for years)

Similarly, a verb like *eat* appearing in combination with a cumulative object (81a) yields an atelic interpretation or where it appears with a quantized DP, as in (81b), inducing a telic interpretation.

- (81) a. Mary ate apples (for hours/*in an hour).
b. Mary ate five apples (in an hour/*for hours).

For subject DPs in contrast, the situation is rather different. The contribution to sentential aspect of the nominal reference only relates to whether single or multiple event readings are induced and this is independent of the telic / atelic distinction we saw was relevant for objects. This I illustrate below with an atelic predicate such *drink* where a bare plural (*guests*) only induces a multiple event reading:

- (82) a. John drank beer all day.
b. Guests drank beer all day.

³⁷ The quantized/cumulative contrast here is used in the sense of Krifka (1989).

Therefore, in the light of the different contributions to sentential aspect provided by subjects and objects and since the resultative falls within the area of aspect, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the selectional restriction is connected in some way to the object. Especially, if we consider a well known property which is characteristic of resultatives in general. This property is the one known in the literature as the Direct Object Restriction (or DOR for short) and which renders resultatives the characteristic of being object oriented (cf. Simpson 1983, Rapoport 1986, 1993, Hoekstra 1988, 1992, Tenny 1992, Rappaport and Levin 1989, Levin and Rappaport 1995, inter alia). In the following section I will discuss the DOR in connection with the resultatives of the Germanic type illustrated in examples (73) and (74) above.

4. 2. 3 Resultatives are Object-Oriented.

In section (4. 2. 1) we saw how the resultatives of the Germanic type involve a VP containing a direct object and a result predicate which is predicated of this object. This latter property has rendered the description of resultatives as being object-oriented. According to Rapoport (1986, 1993) and Hoekstra (1988, 1992) this object driven property of resultatives can be easily recognised in examples such as (74b) above. Here an intransitive verb like *laugh* appears in combination with a result predicate, the insertion of a reflexive (or “dummy object” in the sense of Rapoport 1993 or “fake-reflexive” in the sense of Simpson 1983) is a necessary requirement as we can see from the ungrammaticality of (83) below if the *themselves* has been omitted³⁸ :

(83) *The children laughed into a frenzy.

As argued in Rappaport and Levin (1989) and Levin and Rappaport (1995) resultative predication is only possible for direct objects. Subjects and obliques are always excluded and this property they have named the “Direct Object Restriction”. This is taken to be a constraint which again can be derived from the properties of certain direct internal arguments. More specifically, the direct objects are the ones which according to Tenny (1992) “measure-out” or have a delimiting function in the event. This takes us to the next property of this type of construction which is that the formation of resultatives is only possible with verbs which have “affected” internal arguments (Smith 1991, Hoekstra 1992, Rapoport 1993, inter alia.). An affected

³⁸ I will return below to verbs like *laugh* in connection with the “Unaccusative Hypothesis” (Perlmutter 1978 and Burzio 1981, 1986).

argument is one which is generally understood to have undergone some change (Anderson 1978) and middle formation is a common testing ground for this type of arguments as we find illustrated below:

- (84) a This summit climbs easily.
 b. This flat builds easily.
 c. * This lesson knows easily.

In (84) we see that middle formation is possible with verbs like *climb* and *build* which involve the concept of change but impossible with a verb like *know* where this concept is not present.

In Tenny (1992), affectedness is characterised further as being an aspectual concept pertaining to delimiting direct internal arguments and this is taken to be related to the aspectual property of telicity³⁹. This issue is connected to the phenomenon of the different contributions provided by objects and subjects to sentential aspect discussed briefly in the previous section. We have seen that it is quantized DP objects such as *a house* in (80a) and *five apples* in (81b) that are able to give a telic interpretation for verbs such as *build* and *eat* respectively. However, I will leave this issue aside for now, but I will return to it later on in section (4. 5. 3) where we will see on the one hand, that the objects with a delimiting function are related to certain semantic types of verbs and on the other, that not all objects have this function. For the moment, I will mention an interesting contrast mentioned in Tenny (1992) concerning the distribution of resultative predicates in the context of psychological predicates which lends additional support to the Direct Object Restriction.

In the literature (Pesetsky 1987, Grimshaw 1987, 1990, Pustejovsky 1991, inter alia), it is common to divide psychological predicates into two major classes: the so called *fear*-class on the one hand and the *frighten*-class on the other. Both these classes are similar with respect to the number of arguments that are involved. That is, they are two-place predicates and in terms of semantics they both take an *experiencer* and a *theme* role. However, both these classes differ in terms of the distribution of these semantic roles as we illustrate in (85).

- (85) <Experiencer Theme>
 ----- -----
 a. Mary fears dogs.

³⁹ Also as Gropen et al. (1991) note, affected arguments are mainly associated with direct objects. However, in Smith (1991) it is mentioned that certain external arguments (such as for instance the subjects of perception verbs) can also be classed as affected.

- -----
- b. The dogs frightened Mary.

In (85a) we see that in the *fear*-class the argument bearing the experiencer role (*Mary*) is the subject and the theme argument (*the dogs*) is borne by the grammatical object. In contrast in the *frighten*-class illustrated in (85b) it is the theme (*the dogs*) that is the grammatical subject and the experiencer (*Mary*) that is the object. Tenny (1992) mentions an interesting aspectual contrast between these two classes involving their experiencer arguments in the context of resultatives. Namely, when the experiencer is the direct internal argument as in the *frighten*-class in (85b), it delimits the event. In contrast, if the same argument is the external argument as in the *fear*-class in (85a) it cannot fulfil this delimiting function. As a consequence, only the *frighten*-class will be able to appear in the context of resultative secondary predicates as we see from (86) (data from Tenny 1992: 17).

- (86) a. * John feared the truth into drinking.
 b. The truth frightened John into drinking.

In this sense, we can conclude that the *fear*-class of psychological predicates is subject-oriented and the *frighten*-class, in contrast, is object-oriented and from (86b) we see that resultative predication is only possible with this latter class of object-oriented psychological predicates. Therefore, the fact that resultative predication is only possible for direct objects receives an aspectual explanation, since only direct internal arguments “measure-out” an event. The question now is, how does this fare with the periphrastic resultatives involved in the Grammaticalisation process of perfectives ? Although we will see the properties of these resultatives in more detail in the following chapter in connection with the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ (*have*) construction, I will advance here one important property shared by these. This property is connected precisely to this DOR which renders the periphrastic resultative the characteristic of being object-oriented. Namely, as illustrated in the contrast between (87a) and (87b) below from this ‘*tener*’ (*have*) construction, this resultative shares the fact that the direct object is also obligatory:

- (87) a. Tengo escritos cinco libros.
 Have-1.sg write-part.masc.pl five book-masc.pl.
 I have five books written.
- b. * Tengo escritos.

In (87b) we see that if the object is omitted the result is then an ungrammatical sentence. The obligatory nature of the resultative object is one element that distinguishes this construction from perfectives. Namely, as we see below it is possible to omit the object of a perfective.

(88) Mary has written.

In the following chapter (section 5. 2. 5) we will see how the resultative object is constrained further in that it has to be a specific object. For the moment, however, I will leave this issue aside and I will take this obligatory nature of the resultative object as an indication that the selectional restriction involved in the characterisation of Lexical perfective auxiliaries is object (or internal argument) oriented. Although the presence or absence of objects appears to be important in the characterisation of resultative and perfectives, I claim that in languages (such as Old Spanish or Modern Italian) where the perfective/resultative ambiguity is still latent this will be important for the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries. This takes us to the second issue mentioned in section (4. 1. 1), which was important for the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries. There we have seen that according to Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994), an important factor influencing the lexical properties of auxiliaries is whether perfectives are sensitive to the auxiliary selection rule and related to the latter, whether participles display the morphological property of agreement. This will be the subject of the following section. Nevertheless, before continuing with this issue, I will summarise briefly what we have seen so far in this section.

4. 2. 4 Summary.

In this section I have been looking for a correlate of root modals in the area of perfectives which is not related to VP-Preposing. We have seen the proposal that this correlate is the resultative construction involved in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives. We have seen that in some languages such as Old Spanish or Modern Italian, it is still possible to ascertain a resultative/perfective ambiguity in some contexts. This ambiguity, I have claimed, will tell us what selectional restriction is involved in a Lexical system of auxiliaries. In connection with the latter, I proposed that since resultatives are aspectual constructions, it seemed reasonable to assume that the selectional restriction was connected in some way to internal arguments. The first reason I have provided is connected to the more general issue that only objects

and not subjects, are involved in the phenomenon of sentential aspect. The second reason pointing in the direction of the object was the property of resultatives being object oriented. This object orientedness I now claim is what is involved in the characterisation of a system of Lexical auxiliaries and by extension, I will take this as an indication that theta role assignment is taking place. In the previous chapter we saw how this is interpreted as the situation where the auxiliary enters into some scope relation with the arguments of the embedded predicate. I now claim that for Lexical perfective auxiliaries this involves the internal argument of the embedded participle.

In the following section I will present the main issues concerning the characterisation of Romance perfectives. Depending on whether languages are subject to the auxiliary selection rule or not and whether participles display the formal feature of agreement, we will see how there are two main types of perfective constructions. Additionally, I will describe this contrast with relevance to the Lexical/Functional auxiliary contrast.

4.3 Romance Perfects.

4.3.1 Functional Auxiliaries: Languages with only *have* as Auxiliary.

This first type of compound tense formation is characterised as a system where all syntactic and semantic classes of verbs form their perfects with some equivalent of the auxiliary *have*. This we find illustrated below in (89) for Portuguese '*ter*' (*have*) where we see how this auxiliary combines with transitives (such as '*comer*' *to eat*) and intransitives (such as '*dormir*' *to sleep* or '*venir*' *to come*).

- (89) a. *Tem comido as maçãs.*
 Have-1.sg eat-part.Ø the-fem.pl apple-fem.pl
 I have eaten apples.
- b. *O João tem dormido.*
 The-masc.sg João have-3.sg sleep-part.Ø
 Juan has slept.

- c. O João tem vindo.
 The-masc.sg João have-3.sg come-part.ø.
 João has come.

Also from the above data we see a second formal feature characterising this type of system which is connected to the morphology of the participles. Namely, participles are characterised by displaying default masculine singular (or neuter) participial morphology as we can see from the examples above highlighting the consistent '-do' (-en) participial morph. This type of agreement I will call default agreement (in the sense of Corbett 1991).

Languages such as English, Portuguese, Modern Spanish, among others have been described as showing this type of compound tense formation and these are the ones described in Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) as systems involving Functional auxiliaries. These, we have seen, are considered to be non-theta assigning auxiliaries. Nevertheless, as proposed in the previous chapter (section 3. 3), I will not ascribe to this view and I will consider all auxiliaries to be theta role assigners. The difference between Lexical and Functional auxiliaries I propose should be defined in terms of different types of scope relations between the auxiliaries and the embedded predicates involved. Additionally, we also saw how these scope relations were interpreted as operations performed on argument structures in the Lexicon which were called Merger. For Lexical auxiliaries I proposed the mechanism of Heavy Merger and for Functional auxiliaries I proposed the mechanism of Light Merger. However, as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis (section 1. 1) and in Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1), the main aim of this investigation is to find evidence of lexical content relating to arguments in some auxiliaries which we know now are the Lexical ones. Therefore I will not deal with the Functional auxiliaries further here, but I will return to these briefly in Chapter VI in connection with Modern Spanish perfectives. Therefore, in what follows I will concentrate on the system of Romance Lexical perfective auxiliaries and we will see how this type of compound tense formation contrasts with the one involving Functional auxiliaries presented above. I will first present the formal properties involved in languages where auxiliary selection is relevant and secondly, in section (4. 4) we will see the issues involved in more detail.

4. 3. 2 Auxiliary Selecting Languages.

Auxiliary selecting languages are commonly understood as the ones where compound tense formation is characterised by a split binary auxiliary system. The auxiliaries involved are generally *be* and *have* and these are selected in a principled way by certain syntactic and semantic classes of verbs in the formation of perfectives as we illustrated from Italian in examples (90) and (91) below:

- (90) a. Il bambino è morto.
The-masc.sg boy-masc.sg be-3.sg die-part.masc.sg
The boy has died.
- b. Gianni è arrivato.
Gianni be-3.sg arrive-part.masc.sg
Gianni has arrived.
- (91) a. I bambini hanno portato le mele.
The-masc.pl child-masc.pl have-3.pl bring-part.ø the-fem.pl apple-fem.pl.
The children have brought the apples.
- b. I bambini hanno riso molto.
The-masc.pl child-masc.pl have-3.pl laugh-part.ø a-lot.
The children have laughed a lot.

From a semantic point of view, the verbs in (90) selecting for 'essere' are generally categorised roughly as intransitive verbs of movement, states and change of state. In contrast, 'avere' as illustrated in (91) is selected by most transitives (as 'portare' *to bring* in 91a) and a certain subset of intransitives (as 'ridere' *to laugh* in 91b). This contrast between *be* and *have* selection is generally connected by linguists to what has come to be known in the literature as the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978 and Burzio 1981, 1986). Broadly speaking, this hypothesis states that there is a distinction among intransitive verbs which concerns the status of their subjects. More specifically, it states that the *single argument of some intransitive verbs is an underlying object*. The intransitives with an object-like subject are called in the literature unaccusative (in the sense of Burzio 1981 and 1986) or ergative (in the sense of Perlmutter 1978). Verbs such as 'morire' (*to die*) or 'arrivare' (*to arrive*) in (90) are generally grouped under this rubric. In contrast, the second type of intransitive where the single argument is not object-like is called unergative. Verbs like 'ridere' (*to laugh*) in (91b) belong to this class.

However, I will leave this unergative/unaccusative contrast aside for the moment and I will return to it in section (4. 3. 4). Beforehand, I will mention one remaining formal property characterising these perfectives in auxiliary selecting languages which is connected to the formal property of participle agreement.

4. 3. 3 Participle Agreement.

Earlier it was mentioned that the second general formal property associated with the auxiliary selection feature is related to participle agreement. In this type of perfective, participles are characterised by displaying agreement (object or subject) in certain configurations. For instance, it is always available where the auxiliary is *be* as illustrated for Italian in (90) above repeated below for convenience and highlighting the agreement relation between the grammatical subject and the participial morphology:

- (92) *Il bambino è morto.*
 The-masc.sg boy-masc.sg be-3.sg die-part.masc.sg
 The boy has died.

In contrast, where the perfective auxiliary is *have* agreement is never⁴⁰ present where the object is in its canonical post-verbal position. This again, I illustrate with the Italian example of (91a) above repeated in (93) below. Here, the plural feminine object '*le mele*' is coupled with the type of masculine singular (or neuter) agreement I called default agreement in section (4. 3. 1).

- (93) *I bambini hanno portato le mele.*
 The-masc.pl child-masc.pl have-3.pl bring-part.ø the-fem.pl apple-fem.pl.
 The children have brought the apples.

However, agreement is almost invariably present in the context where this object has been moved as the result of objective (accusative) cliticization and in *wh*-extraction

⁴⁰ See Chapter VI (section 6. 1. 3) for discussion with reference to Old Spanish examples where agreement is found in this type of post-verbal canonical object configuration.

environments⁴¹. These two environments, I illustrate in (94) from Italian where again, the agreement relations have been highlighted.

- (94) a. Li_i hai dipinti_i [t_i] ?
 Them-pl.acc.cl have-2.sg paint-part.masc.pl.
 Have you painted them ?
- b. Quanti quadri_i hai dipinti_i [t_i] ?
 How-many-masc.pl picture-masc.pl have-2.sg paint-part.masc.pl
 How many pictures have you painted ?

Therefore, the contrast between the strings in (3. 6) and (3. 7ab) indicates that participle agreement is always present whenever an object appears in a position which is not its canonical D-Structure object position. Since the seminal work of Kayne (1985, 1989 and 1993) on the subject, this very property of participle agreement has led to the general assumption in the Principles and Parameters literature that participle agreement in these cases is always "triggered" as a result of movement operations. Furthermore, in later approaches such as the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1992, 1995), this participial agreement is explained in connection with feature checking. However, since participle agreement appears to be marginal in the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries and at present I am only interested in providing a description of the formal characteristics of participles involved in auxiliary selecting languages, I will leave this issue aside for now and I return to it in Chapter VI in connection with Old Spanish. For the moment, I will conclude that for auxiliary selecting languages, *have* and *be* selection is generally coupled with participle agreement of the kind described above. Apart from Italian discussed in this section, other exponents of this type of perfective system are French, Old Spanish and Old Catalan.

In section (4. 1. 1) we saw auxiliary selection and participle agreement are the feature which Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) propose characterise a system of Lexical auxiliaries. However, in the same section we also saw that not all the languages displaying this type of perfective have a system of Lexical auxiliaries. For instance, from the fact that Modern French disallowed VP-Preposing in the context of a Weak Negative Island, we saw that this language was described by Lema and Rivero (1991), as having Hybrid perfective auxiliaries. I also mentioned that for practical reasons related to lack of appropriate data in Old Spanish, I will not

⁴¹ For French participle agreement has been described as optional in these environments (see Kayne 1985 for data and discussion). Other recognised participial agreement environments which are not relevant for Italian or French are objective relatives and VP-Preposing strategies. I will discuss these in Chapter VI in connection with Old Spanish.

use the latter context as a diagnostic to determine the lexical properties of the auxiliaries involved. The question now is, therefore, how do we characterise Lexical auxiliaries without having to resort to any movement strategy ? I now propose that the answer to this is to be found in the auxiliary selection rule itself and more specifically in the contrast between French and Italian as we will see in the following section. However, before continuing let us summarise what we have seen so far.

4. 3. 4 Summary.

In this section, we have seen the principal formal features characterising the systems of both Functional and Lexical auxiliaries. We have seen that Functional auxiliaries are to be found in a *have* only auxiliary system which is coupled with consistent default agreement (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI in connection with Modern Spanish). Instead, it was proposed that we look at a system of Lexical auxiliaries in more detail. This type we saw was characterised as a system with *be* and *have* and where (object or subject) participial agreement is present in certain environments. Italian was one language characterised as having Lexical auxiliaries. However, we saw that not all auxiliary selecting languages have these Lexical auxiliaries. We saw that French has a system of Hybrid auxiliaries. Therefore, in order to provide a characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries, I will examine the contrast between French and Italian auxiliary selection. We will see how the Italian system is a strong auxiliary selecting system in contrast to French which is weaker. Furthermore, in the case of Italian we will see that the strong auxiliary selection feature correlates with the resultative/perfective ambiguity. Earlier I have proposed that object orientedness is involved in the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries I will give more ground to this claim in the following two sections. In order to do this, I will first examine the auxiliary selection rule in more detail and secondly, I will highlight the object-orientedness (or better the orientedness of the internal argument) of a system with strong Lexical auxiliaries. In what follows I will first look at the auxiliary selection rule in connection with the Unaccusative Hypothesis which will provide us with a characterisation of verbs in terms of argument structure.

4. 4 Auxiliary Selection and the Characterisation of Lexical Auxiliaries.

4. 4. 1 Auxiliary Selection and the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

In section (4. 3. 2) it was mentioned that auxiliary selection was connected to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978 and Burzio 1981, 1986) which states that there is a difference in the status of the subjects of some intransitives. This hypothesis we saw, divided the group on intransitive verbs into unaccusatives and unergatives. The subject of an unaccusative was characterised as an underlying object and its unergative correlate as a non-object. I will now explain this contrast in more detail and I will mention that this dichotomy between unaccusatives and unergatives has often been described in structural terms in connection with what is known as Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986) which I present below:

(95) BURZIO' S GENERALISATION.

- (i) A verb which lacks an external argument fails to assign *accusative* Case (Burzio 1986: 178-9).
- (ii) A verb which fails to assign *accusative* Case, fails to theta mark an external argument. (Burzio 1986: 184).

As it stands, the above generalisation establishes a connection between structural accusative Case assignment and the incidence of external arguments. Therefore, in relation to Burzio's Generalisation in the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981, Chomsky 1986), the main characteristic of unaccusatives is that they lack the ability to assign an external thematic role to their subject position. Instead, that which is the surface grammatical subject, is a Deep Structure internal argument⁴² to which the verb fails to assign accusative case (hence, the labelling "unaccusative"). Subsequently, this argument raises from its Deep Structure internal position to its Surface Structure grammatical subject position in order to acquire nominative Case from INFL/AGR. In other words, unaccusative subjects are derived subjects in the sense that they move from their VP internal object (or sister of V) position to the subject position (i.e. the specifier of IP/AGR position). Therefore, these verbs select an internal argument but do not assign accusative case to it.

In contrast, for unergatives the main characteristic is that the argument functioning

⁴² Here the external and internal argument distinction is drawn from Williams (1980) which was discussed in Chapter II (section 2. 1. 3).

as a subject is, in fact, an external argument to which the verb has assigned an external theta role. This property then, aligns the subject of an unergative together with the subject of a transitive. In accordance with Burzio's Generalisation, the subjects of both transitives and unergatives are called thematic subjects which are nothing but external arguments whose existence is connected in some way to structural Case assignment.

Furthermore, in contrast to unaccusatives, the derivation of both unergative and transitive subjects involves the movement from their canonical Deep Structure position (in the Specifier position of VP)⁴³ to the Specifier of IP position where it is then assigned nominative Case. To summarise, the subject of all verbs (unaccusatives, transitives and unergatives) have in common that they are all assigned nominative Case but the difference is where they are generated. Unaccusative subjects are generated as sisters of V or the canonical direct object position and transitive and unergative subjects are generated in Spec of VP.

Now, in connection with auxiliary selection, it is precisely the nature of this contrast between thematic subject in the case of unergatives and transitives and non-thematic subject in the case of unaccusatives which is an important factor for a number of researchers (Burzio 1981, 1986, Hoekstra 1984, Taraldsen 1986, 1991, Lois 1990, *inter alia*). Furthermore, we have seen that the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction is taken to follow from Burzio's Generalisation which is connected to whether a verb is able to assign structural accusative Case or not. In relating this to auxiliary selection, it is said that verbs which have a non-thematic subject and do not assign accusative Case then take *be* as their auxiliary. These are the ones labelled unaccusative or ergative.

In contrast, verbs taking *have* are the ones characterised as having thematic subjects and which additionally assign accusative Case. Verbs corresponding to this description are transitives and unergatives. In the first instance, accusative case assignment is an indisputable property of basic transitive (accusative) verbs, since they are two-place predicates. However, in the case of intransitive unergatives, it is less clear how this might be relevant. Nevertheless, here I appeal to a common view held in the literature (cf. Mahajan 1989, Laka 1993, Kayne 1993) in which unergatives are taken to be covert transitives and can be characterised as selecting for an optional covert cognate internal argument. As illustrated in (96) which can be taken as a transitive counterpart of another prototypical unergative verb such as '*sognare*' (*to dream*).

⁴³ This is also known in the literature as the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis of Koopman and Sportiche (1988).

- (96) Gianni ha sognato un sogno.
 Gianni have-3.sg dream-masc.ø a-masc.sg dream-masc.sg
 Gianni has dreamed a dream.

However, in this investigation I will be less concerned with the characterisation of auxiliary selection in connection with Case assignment or the thematic-non-thematic subject distinction. One reason being that, if auxiliary selection is based on the thematic-non-thematic distinction, this amounts to saying that *have* and *be* selection depends on the different properties of subjects. This latter type of approach leaves us with a discrete system to explain the contrast between *have* and *be* selection. This is desirable on the one hand, because it provides a neat explanation of this phenomenon. However, on the other hand, such a discrete system also raises a number of problems, specially if we take into consideration the fact that as is now widely accepted, that the unaccusative / unergative contrast is not an absolute one (Levin and Rappaport 1995). As we will see in the following sections, there appears to be a great deal of variation both cross-linguistic and among the verbs themselves and this makes it difficult to determine when an intransitive verb can be classed as being able to assign accusative case or not.

Furthermore, such a discrete system to explain auxiliary selection also enters into conflict with the fact that not all languages which have this phenomenon follow the same pattern of auxiliary selection.

For instance, in section (4. 4. 2) we will see that there is a difference between Dutch and German in this area and more in connection with Romance languages, in section (4. 4. 3), we will see that there is also a difference between French and Italian auxiliary selection.

Furthermore, what these fluctuations among unergative and unaccusative verbs and the contrasts between auxiliary selecting systems suggest is, that these are connected to grammaticalisation. We have already seen that in order to explain grammaticalisation we cannot rely on discrete contrasts, such as the thematic-non-thematic subject distinction brought about under the auspices of Burzio's Generalisation. Therefore, in order to explain the above issues we then have to find a system which is more dynamic. In the introductory chapter of this thesis (section 1. 2) it was suggested that in order to make a system dynamic, it is important to have constant elements. Now, I propose that for perfectives the constant element is connected in some way to internal arguments. How this works will become clearer throughout this investigation. But what I advance here is, that in connection with the latter the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries becomes relevant here. We have already seen repeatedly throughout this thesis that Lexical auxiliaries import some selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in, which is connected to argument related information. Bearing on the latter, I have proposed that in the

area of perfective auxiliaries, the selectional restriction is connected in some way to objects or internal arguments.

Nevertheless, at present what we need to do first, is to explain the similarities between transitives, unergatives and unaccusatives at a more basic level which I will take to be argument structure. And in this endeavour the Unaccusative Hypothesis will prove helpful. Thus, bearing on the above, in broad terms, the sole argument of an unaccusative verb can be paired together with the internal argument of a transitive verb. In contrast, the sole argument of an unergative pairs up with the external argument of a transitive. In Chapter II (section 2. 1. 3) I have adopted the argument structure notation of Grimshaw (1987, 1990) and Grimshaw and Mester (1988). There the argument structures of predicates are represented by parentheses which portray notationally the internal / external argument distinction in terms of a hierarchical structure. Internal arguments are represented as *y* and external ones as *x*. In connection with the latter I will represent the above correlation between transitives, unergatives and unaccusatives notationally as (97) below:

- (97) a. Transitive: (*x* (*y*))
 b. Unergative: (*x*)
 c. Unaccusative: ((*y*))

According to the above, the argument structure of transitive verb represents that *x* is the external and most prominent argument and *y* is the internal and least prominent one. An unergative has one single prominent argument *x* and an unaccusative is represented with *y* and double parentheses indicating that no argument is the prominent one. I section (4. 5. 1) I will mention how unaccusativity interpreted under the auspices of the Unaccusative Hypothesis creates a paradox which leads to the separation of argument structure and the syntax.

In the previous chapter (section 3. 3. 1) I proposed that Lexical auxiliaries enter into a parasitic relation with the arguments of the embedded predicate and this mechanism I have called Heavy Merger. Now I will propose the same mechanism in order to explain the properties of auxiliary selection and the above characterisation of verbs at argument structure will play an important role. However, before I continue with this issue, on the one hand, we still have to know more about this issue of auxiliary selection and on the other, we also need to understand more about unaccusativity. In the following section, I will start off by presenting a different interpretation of auxiliary selection and in section (4. 4. 3), I will characterise auxiliary selection in connection with the Lexical / Hybrid contrast. Finally, I will devote the whole of section (4. 5) to the characterisation of the phenomenon of unaccusativity and we will see how this is related to grammaticalisation.

4. 4. 2 Auxiliary Selection as an Aspectual Property.

Following earlier work by Mulder & Wehrmann (1989) and Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), Den Dikken (1993: 15) contends that "the ergative / unergative distinction *per se* does not determine the choice of auxiliary". This assertion he bases on the existence of certain verbs in Dutch which indisputably pass the tests for ergative⁴⁴ which nevertheless take *have* instead *be* as an auxiliary in the formation of compound tenses. These verbs are the class of positional verbs illustrated below in (98) (example from Den Dikken (1993:15):

- (98) Het hemd *heeft* /**is* al uren aan de lijn gehangen.
 The shirt has / is for hours on the line hung.

From here he concludes that although verbs selecting *be* can be categorised as ergative this is a sufficient but not necessary condition for determining whether a verb is unaccusative or not. And the fact that an ergative verb such as 'hangen' in (98) above take *have* instead of *be* can be explained easily if the aspectual properties of the predicate involved are taken into consideration. More specifically, in Den Dikken's view the aspectual notion involved is telicity. In section (4. 2. 2) we have seen that this concept divides verbs into the categories of telic and atelic. With reference to auxiliary selection, Den Dikken proposes the generalisation that telic predicates take *be* and atelic ones take *have*.⁴⁵ In the instance of (98), this latter distinction then, explains why an unaccusative atelic predicate such as 'hangen' selects for 'haben' and not 'zijn'.

Now, at first sight this generalisation applied to the explanation of auxiliary selection seems to be on the right track, since the linguistic phenomenon of ergativity often appears to be connected to telicity (Dixon 1996). For instance, in split-ergative languages which have an accusative system of grammatical relations but also have ergative case morphology marking, this ergative case-marking, is often connected to perfective environments (Mahajan 1993). This I illustrate below in (99a) from Urdu (example from Manning 1996: 72) and in (99b) from Hindi (example from Mahajan 1993: 318):

⁴⁴ It seems to be the case that this author seems to equate the phenomenon of ergativity with unaccusativity. I will return to this issue below in section 4. 5. 1.

⁴⁵ This type of generalisation is not new, we can find a similar characterisation for Old Spanish auxiliary selection in Benzing (1931).

- (99) a. anjum-ne royaa
 Anjum-erg cry-perf
 Anjum cried on purpose.
- b. raam-ne vah kitaabe paru.
 Ram-erg those books(pl) read-perf part-fem-pl be-fem-pl-pst.
 Ram had read those books.

In both examples above we find that the grammatical subjects 'anjum-ne' and 'raam-ne' are both marked with ergative case morphology and this is connected to a perfective environment. However, this is not always necessarily the case as I also illustrate below from Yidin, a language spoken in North Queensland (example from Dixon 1996: 59).

- (100) waguya-ngu jugi-~~e~~ gunda-l (galba:n-da)
 man-erg tree-abs cut-pres axe-inst
 The man is cutting a tree (with an axe).

Here we see how the verb appears in the present tense and how the subjective DP 'waguya-ngu' (the man) is marked with ergative case marking. It is in connection with the latter that I question the proposal of Den Dikken (1993) presented above. Namely, if as illustrated above, ergativity does not necessarily need to be connected to perfectivity (or telicity), this suggests that the generalisation that auxiliary selection is determined aspectually in terms of telicity seems too strong. And this point can be supported by the fact that there is also a great deal of intra- and cross-linguistic variation in the area of auxiliary selection (in this connection also see Burzio 1981, Lema & Rivero 1991, Lois 1989, inter alia.). I will briefly illustrate this point from German.

In the first instance, positional verbs in German follow the same pattern as their Dutch counterparts in that they also select for 'haben' as I illustrate below for verbs such as 'stehen' (*to stand*) and 'sitzen' (*to sit*)⁴⁶:

⁴⁶ However, it is interesting to note that in certain southern German dialects (specially in Bavaria), positional verbs select 'sein' rather than 'haben'. In these contexts in descriptive grammars it is considered that these examples are older than the ones with 'haben'.

- (i) Ich bin stundenlang am Fenster gesessen.
 I be-1.sg hours-long at-the-neut.dat window-sg sat.
 I have sat for hours at the window.

Also in Chapter VI we will see how in Old Spanish positional verbs select *be* instead of *have*.

- (101) a. Ich habe stundenlang am Fenster gestanden.
 I have-1.sg hours-long at-the-neut.dat window-sg stood.
 I have stood for hours at the window.
- b. Ich habe stundenlang im Sessel gesessen.
 I have-1.sg hours-long in-the-masc.dat armchair-sg sat.
 I have sat for hours in the armchair.

Therefore, these German examples seem to support Den Dikken's generalisation that atelic verbs select 'haben' (*have*). Nevertheless, the situation becomes more obscure when one tries to apply the latter to other verbs. For instance, below I illustrate the reverse situation where another positional atelic verb such as 'bleiben' (*stay*) takes 'sein' rather than 'haben'.

- (102) Petra ist lange bei mir geblieben.
 Petra be-3.sg long with me-sg.dat stay.
 Petra has stayed with me for a long time.

Among the verbs of movement, the situation is even more confusing. One such example is the verb 'laufen' (*walk*) which although being inherently atelic can only occur in combination with 'sein'.

- (103) Ich bin /*habe stundenlang gelaufen.
 I be-1.sg /*have-1.sg hours-long walked.
 I have walked for hours.

In connection with (103) I have to point out that examples such as these constitute an important point of departure between German and Dutch, because as I illustrate below, in the latter language a similar verb such as 'wandeln' takes 'haben' instead of 'zijn'.

- (104) Ik heb urenlang gewandeld.
 I have-1.sg hours-long walked.
 I have walked for hours.

Furthermore, in returning to German, there we also find a group of verbs of movement which can alternate between 'haben' and 'sein' in certain contexts.

- (105) a. Peter *ist / hat getanzt.
 Peter *be-3.sg / have-3.sg dance-part
 Peter has danced.
- b. Peter ist /*hat durch den Park getanzt.
 Peterbe-3.sg /* have-3.sg through the-masc.sg.acc park dance-part
 Peter has danced through the park.

These have been called the unergative/unaccusative alternations which have also been described for Italian and for Spanish and which occur in the context of locative prepositional phrases. I will return to these below in section (4. 5. 4). However, we also find 'haben' / 'sein' alternations which are not necessarily context dependent as I illustrate below for the atelic verb 'schwimmen' (*to swim*) and where there is no locative prepositional phrase present which could induce the alternation.

- (106) Wir sind / haben den ganzen Tag geschwommen.
 We be-1.pl / have-1.pl the-masc.sg.acc whole day swim-part
 We have swam the whole day.

Therefore, what we can conclude from the above is, that these contrasts between 'haben' and 'sein' selection in German, suggest that the situation is not as clear cut as Den Dikken (1993) makes it out to be. Namely, if we were to take on board that auxiliary selection is determined by whether verbs are telic or atelic, this would mean that we assume a system of auxiliary selection which is discrete. Bearing on the latter, for instance, it would be impossible to explain why in the German examples in (102) and (103), atelic verbs such 'bleiben' (*stay*) and 'laufen' (*walk*) modified by the durative adverbial 'stundenlang' (*for hours*) are able to appear in combination with 'sein' and not 'haben', as would be the case according to the generalisation. Additionally, we would not be able to explain the alternations in (105) and (106) or the regional variations either (cf. fn. 46). Finally, in the light of the variation we can conclude, that in the context of the auxiliary selection rule per se, Den Dikken's (1993) generalisation appears too strong and we have to look for some other property inducing this alternation. Other proposals to explain 'haben' and 'sein' selection have been put forward in the literature. For instance, while also rejecting an aspectual approach to auxiliary selection, it has been proposed that "haben" is used only when there is no need to locate the moving entity and a

change over locations induces the use of 'sein' because it needs to locate the moving entity" (Stephani 1992: 14). However, I will leave this proposal aside and instead, I will explain the contrast among languages in connection with the diachronic transition of auxiliary selecting to non-auxiliary selecting language. In Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) I proposed that auxiliaries enter into a parasitic relation with the arguments of the embedded predicate. For perfective auxiliaries I proposed that this relation crucially involves internal arguments and the grammaticalisation process is connected to a weakening of the internal argument of the perfective auxiliary. This we will see explained in more detail in section (4. 5. 6) below where I explain the transitions involved in the grammaticalisation process in more detail. And although I will employ notions connected to aspect in order to explore the semantic properties the internal arguments of the verbs involved, I will not rely on the telic / atelic distinction. However, in the following section I present the contrast between the French and the Italian auxiliary selection systems and the variation among the verbs involved. Additionally, this contrast between these two languages will give us some more information on how to characterise the Lexical/Hybrid contrast of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994).

4. 4. 3 The Lexical / Hybrid Contrast.

I have already mentioned previously that there appears to be a great deal of variation with respect to the auxiliary selection rule among languages displaying this phenomenon in the formation of compound tenses. In Sorace (1993) we find a detailed discussion of the contrasts of both the Italian and French systems. Additionally, it is also mentioned there that in the former language the auxiliary selection rule appears to be more robust than in French, which shows inconsistencies specially among the unaccusative class of verbs. Furthermore, in contrast to other accounts of this phenomenon (which generally subsume unaccusatives under the three semantic classes of verbs of movement, states and change of state mentioned earlier), this author provides a more comprehensive grouping of verbs passing unaccusativity tests together with verbs not considered in other accounts. This classification, including examples of verbs from both Italian and French verbs, I provide below:

- a) Intransitives with transitive counterparts. These include certain reflexives such as 'bagnarsi' /'se mouiller' (*to get wet*) or

'coprirsi' / 'se couvrir' (*become covered*) and verbs such as 'aumentare' / 'augmenter' (*to increase*) 'affondare' / 'couler' (*to sink*).

- b) Inherent reflexives subsuming verbs such as 'fidarsi' / 'se fier' (*to trust*) or 'suicidarsi' / 'se suicider' (*to commit suicide*).
- c) Verbs without transitive counterparts. These verbs she further subdivides into two subgroups: On the one hand true unaccusatives without unergative counterparts such as 'arrivare' / 'arriver' (*to arrive*) or 'diventare' / 'devenir' (*to become*) and on the other unaccusatives with unergative counterparts as 'correre' / 'courir' (*to run*) or 'volare' / 'voler' (*to fly*).

Above we see how Sorace (1993) subdivides these French and Italian unaccusatives into two subgroups according to whether verbs have unergative and transitive counterparts or not. As in Perlmutter (1989), the ones with counterparts she calls *paired* unaccusatives and the pure unaccusatives (i.e., without transitive or unergative counterparts) she calls *unpaired* unaccusatives. These verbs are then arranged further into a semantically based hierarchy founded on the primitive oppositions of *concreteness / abstractedness* and *movement / staticity*. These oppositions are the ground of Sorace's "Unaccusative Hierarchy", the application of which I present in the table below where the respective verbs are also contrasted for both French and Italian with respect to auxiliary selection (table from Sorace 1993: 82)⁴⁷:

⁴⁷ Although a *verbatim* reproduction of this table has been provided here, I have supplied English translations instead of the original Italian and French verb examples. Furthermore, this author's table also includes a diachronic dimension which has been excluded.

Verb Type	Dimension	French aux.	Italian
aux.			
CHANGE OF LOCATION (go, come, etc)	CONCRETE MOVEMENT	<i>être</i>	<i>essere</i>
CHANGE OF CONDITION (become, disappear)		<i>être /avoir</i>	<i>essere</i>
CONTINUATION OF A CONDITION (survive, last)	↓	<i>avoir</i>	<i>essere</i>
	ABSTRACT STATICITY		
EXISTENCE OF A CONDITION (be, exist, seem)		<i>avoir</i>	<i>essere</i>
+ TRANSITIVE ALTERNANT (increase, improve)		<i>avoir</i>	<i>essere</i>
+UNERGATIVE ALTERNANT (run, roll)	↓	<i>avoir</i>	<i>essere</i>

Table I: UNACCUSATIV HIERARCHY

From this table we can clearly see that there exist asymmetries between French and Italian in the context of auxiliary selection. We see that in Italian ‘*essere*’ selection appears to be more robust than in French among the class of unaccusatives. Both paired and unpaired unaccusatives consistently select for ‘*essere*’. In contrast, for French we see that ‘*être*’ selection is not as consistent. All paired unaccusatives select for ‘*avoir*’ and among the unpaired ones, we find that apart from “change of location” verbs which select for ‘*être*’ and ‘*être*’/ ‘*avoir*’ ambiguities among the “change of condition” verbs, the remaining “continuation of a condition” and “existence of a condition” verbs select for ‘*avoir*’. These latter verbs can be grouped under the broader semantic class of statives and below in section (4. 5. 6) we will see that these play a major role in the process of grammaticalisation of the aspectual system. However, this contrast between the Italian and French auxiliary

selection systems is interesting at this point, because we can now correlate it with the Lexical / Hybrid auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) discussed previously. Bearing on the latter then, for the moment, we can characterise a system with Lexical auxiliaries as one where *be* selection is consistent throughout the whole unaccusative class, such as for Italian. A system such as this latter one, I will call a system with a strong auxiliary selection rule. In contrast, a system with Hybrid auxiliaries can be characterised as one where *be* selection is less consistent and *have* selection among unaccusatives is more wide-spread. A system such as this one, I will call a weak auxiliary selection system. Finally, this contrast between strong and weak auxiliary selection systems will be important for this investigation, because it will help to provide the grounds for the categorisation of the Old Spanish system of auxiliaries as one with Lexical rather than Hybrid auxiliaries as in Lema and Rivero (1991). The secret to the contrast between a strong and a weak system is connected to the properties of the verbs themselves as we will see in the following section. Furthermore, as will become more clear in section (4. 5. 6) an important property characterising this contrast between a strong and a weak system revolves around whether statives are included or not in the system of *be* selection. However, before I can explain this in more detail we still need to know more about the properties of statives and crucially in section (4. 5. 2) I will distinguish between stative and dynamic states (in the sense of Pustejovsky 1989 and Carlson 1981). Nevertheless, in the following section, I will first present the properties of what all unaccusatives have in common and we will see that in order to explain this phenomenon we have to distinguish argument structure from what happens in the syntax. Furthermore, I will also present the differences among verbs classified as unaccusatives and I will specifically concentrate on verbs of movement and statives in section (4. 5. 4) and (4. 5. 5) respectively.

4. 4. 4 Summary.

In this section I started off by presenting the Unaccusative Hypothesis in connection with Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986) which we saw establishes a connection between structural Case and the incidence of external arguments. We saw that this generalisation explains the unaccusative and unergative contrast in terms of the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction. Additionally, we also saw that in the literature this was often provided as an explanation of the phenomenon of auxiliary selection. Verbs with thematic subjects select *have* and verbs with non-thematic subjects select *be*. However, it was mentioned that this was not going to be the

approach of this investigation because this does not tell us what is involved in the Lexical/Hybrid auxiliary contrast. Nevertheless, what the Unaccusative Hypothesis and by extension, Burzio's Generalisation tells us is the characterisation of transitives, unaccusatives and unergatives in terms of argument structure. Additionally, we saw the approach of Den Dikken (1993) who proposes that auxiliary selection should be explained in connection with the aspectual notion of telicity. Telic verbs select for *be* and *atelic* ones select for *have*. This position was rejected on the grounds that it is too strong, since there appears to be linguistic variation in relation to auxiliary selection and that not all unaccusative verbs are equally unaccusative. In connection to linguistic variation in the area of auxiliary selection, we saw how there are differences between Italian and French. The correlation between a strong auxiliary selecting system and Lexical auxiliaries and a weak and Hybrid system of auxiliaries. Finally, it was suggested that the variation is connected to some property of unaccusatives and to the transition from auxiliary to non-auxiliary selecting system. These properties I will discuss in the following section.

4. 5 Unaccusatives.

4. 5. 1 What Unaccusatives Have in Common.

In sections (4. 3. 2) and (4. 4. 1) we have seen that from the Unaccusative Hypothesis it is possible to characterise the sole argument of an unaccusative verb as an internal argument. In other words, what appears to be the grammatical subject at one level, is in fact, a logical object. This property of these verbs has been employed by numerous linguists as an explanation of various linguistic phenomena. Although I will not go into detail, one such phenomenon for instance, is what is known as *ne*-clitization in Italian. In broad terms, in this language the clitic '*ne*' (*of- them*) is only allowed to bind a post-verbal quantified objective DP and this is only possible with unaccusatives and transitives but not with unergatives. This contrast we see illustrated below with the unaccusative '*arrivare*' (*to arrive*), the transitive '*mangiare*' (*to eat*) and the unergative '*telefonare*' (*to telephone*)⁴⁸ :

- (107) a. *Ne sono arrivati molti .*
 Ne-cl be-3.pl arrive-part.masc.pl many-masc.pl student-masc.pl.
 Of them many arrived.

⁴⁸ For a more detailed discussion of *ne*-clitization see Belletti and Rizzi (1981), Burzio (1986), Piccolo (1985).

- b. Giacomo ne ha mangiato due.
 Giacomo **ne** have eat two.
 Giacomo has eaten two of them
- c. * Ne telefonano molti.
Ne-cl telephone- many -masc.pl.

Another phenomenon mentioned in connection with unaccusatives is the incidence of bare plural DPs in Spanish. These bare plural DPs are banned for transitive and unergative subjects as illustrated below where DPs of both the definite ('los niños' *the children*) and the bare plural ('niños' *children*) kind, have been contrasted:

- (108) a. Los niños /*niños comen manzanas.
 The-masc.pl child-masc.pl/*child-masc.pl eat-3.sg apple-fem.pl
 The children/children eat apples.
- b. Los niños/*niños duermen.
 The-masc.pl child-masc.pl/*child-masc.pl sleep-3.pl
 The children /children sleep.

Nevertheless, for an unaccusative verb the grammatical subject appears to pattern together with the transitive object of (108a) in that it is able to appear as a bare plural. This is illustrated below with the verb 'llegar' (*to arrive*) and the bare plural DP 'viajeros' (*travellers*).

- (109) Llegan viajeros al aeropuerto.
 Arrive-3.pl traveller-masc.pl to-the-masc.sg airport-masc.sg.
 There arrive travellers at the airport.

This bare plural test has been described in Torrego (1989) as one of the major tests for testing unaccusativity in Modern Spanish and I will return to it in section (4. 5. 4) in connection with unergative/unaccusative alternations among verbs of movement. Nevertheless, what we learn from both *ne*-clitization in Italian and the distribution of bare plural DPs in Spanish is that these phenomena support the view that at some level of description, the sole argument of an unaccusative shares properties with transitive objects. This sharing of properties between unaccusative subjects and transitive objects can be highlighted most, in what has been called in the literature the causative/anticausative alternation illustrated below from English.

- (110) a. The enemy sank the boat.
 b. The boat sank.

Furthermore, this sharing of properties can be characterised further in terms of argument structure where both the transitive objects and unaccusative subjects are internal arguments. However, as mentioned in section (4. 4. 1), this sharing of properties at argument structure, changes in the syntax where the object of the transitive remains in its sister of V position and the unaccusative correlate has to move to the specifier of IP/AGR position in order to be assigned nominative Case. Therefore, bearing on the latter, unaccusativity as set out by Burzio's Generalisation seems to create a paradox between what happens in the syntax and what happens at argument structure. Namely, at argument structure, transitives and unaccusatives share similar properties but differ in the syntax in that the internal argument of the former is assigned accusative case and the one of the latter one not. However, this paradox can be resolved if we separate what happens in the syntax from what happens at argument structure (Manning 1996). And here we would be able to equate the internal argument of certain intransitives with the internal argument of a transitive and this in turn, correlates with ergativity in some way. More specifically, here I am referring to an issue mentioned in Dixon (1996) who points out that the confusion between the concepts of ergativity and unaccusativity is one that surfaces often in the work of linguists working in the generative framework. Namely, ergativity according to Dixon (1996: 1) refers to "the grammatical pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from transitive subject ". And if unaccusativity differentiates the internal argument of certain intransitives and transitives in terms of accusative case assignment and ergativity equates these, we can assume that these in fact refer to different phenomena. However, we can reinterpret this contrast in connection with the above separation of argument structure and syntax and we can conclude then that at argument structure we can talk about ergativity and in the syntax this is reflected through unaccusativity. Furthermore, this contrast will further allow me to equate all verbs classed as unaccusatives in terms of argument structure. This will become relevant in subsequent sections, but now after having examined the above unaccusativity tests and in returning to the phenomenon of auxiliary selection we can now ask the following question. If all the above unaccusativity tests single out something which is an internal argument, is there any reason to believe that this should not be the case for auxiliary selection too ? Therefore, as mentioned earlier, my proposal for auxiliary selection should be seen in this light where both *be* and *have* select or have scope over the internal argument of the embedded predicate and in this the above separation between syntax and argument structure will be

important. However, this still does not tell us anything about the Lexical / Hybrid auxiliary contrast which in the previous section I connected to a strong/weak auxiliary selection rule. I will return to this point in more detail in section (4. 5. 6) below, but the latter leads us to the next issue which is that not all unaccusatives are the same. As noted in Levin and Rappaport (1995: 5) “there is no reason to assume that all verbs that have the syntactic properties attributed to unaccusative verbs will form a semantically homogeneous class”. In earlier parts of this chapter I have mentioned repeatedly that the verbs classed as unaccusatives are generally categorised as denoting a change of state, some movement or a state. These verbs can be characterised further in connection with notions related to aspect. There are two ways of approaching this issue: one involves reference to the inherent semantics of the verb and the other involves the notions of aspect at the sentential level. The first point of view I will examine in the following section and the second one in section (4. 5. 3).

4. 5. 2 Inherent Aspect.

Based on a Vendlerian aspectual typology (Vendler 1967 and developed in Dowty 1979), it is now common to present a quadripartite semantic classification of verbs in natural language into *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments* and *achievements*.

As a first approximation, it is possible to subsume all four aspectual classes under two broad categories according to whether actions are *homogeneous* or *heterogeneous* (in the sense of Pustejovsky 1991)⁴⁹. First, the concept of *homogeneity* relates to eventualities where no reference to initial or final periods is made and no reference to sub-stages is made either. Atelic states (such as *love*, *hate*, *know*) and activities (*run*, *go*) form a natural class according to this criterion. In this sense, every portion of (for instance) *loving* or *running* is an instance of *loving* or *running* respectively (although down to some limit cf. Molla Aliod 1997). Thus, an important consequence is that homogeneous situation types are most naturally modified by durative adverbials like *for an hour* as we see below:

- (111) a. Mary loved Peter *for years*.

⁴⁹ Also see McClure (1994) on these concepts of homogeneity and heterogeneity used in the explanation of inherent aspect. However, in this account activities are interpreted as heterogeneous. This is because under the assumption that running involves different steps in the running event, then not every instance of running is the same. However, in this thesis whether activities are interpreted as homogeneous or heterogeneous at an inherent level is not a matter of great significance, because what I will be concerned most is with aspect at the sentential level.

- b. The children run *for hours*.

Secondly, *heterogeneity* refers to eventualities with culmination points and where no subpart of the whole event is equivalent to any other. In this respect, heterogeneity necessarily makes reference to substages. Telic accomplishments (such as *destroy*, *build a house*) and achievements (such as *die*, *arrive*, *win*) can be defined as heterogeneous. With reference to accomplishments this means that no portion of a *building a house* event implies the whole event of *having built a house*.

Furthermore, a similar point can be made for achievements: no portion of a *dying* event can be taken as an instance of *dying*. Namely, what characterises both accomplishments and achievements is the fact that they both refer to changed stages. However, both these situation types, although forming a natural class, differ in that the former denote on-going activities with logical culminations (i.e., the change of state comes about after the activity) and the latter can be interpreted as an instantaneous change of state (i.e., there is no explicit reference to the activity being performed). Therefore, as a result of their heterogeneous internal structure, accomplishments and achievements are liable to be modified by frame (*in an hour*) and point (*at noon*) adverbials as we can see in (112a) and (112b) below:

- (112) a. Peter built a house *in three months*.
b. Rupert the rabbit died *at noon*.

Now, although it was mentioned earlier that states and activities form a natural class with respect to homogeneity, it is still possible to subdivide them in terms of the stative / non-stative taxonomy. According to this opposition, statives differ from non-statives (or events) in that the former refer to properties, are said to *hold* or *obtain* over intervals of time. In contrast, non-statives refer to occurrences and are taken to culminate or take place over intervals of time⁵⁰.

A common testing ground for this contrast is that stative predicates do not as readily combine with the progressive as events do; they do not appear in the imperative and cannot be modified by agent (subject) oriented adverbials such as *voluntarily* as we see below:

- (113) a. * Peter is loving Mary.
b. * Be sick !
c. * Peter voluntarily loved Mary.

In addition, the progressive can also be used to distinguish activities from accomplishments in what has come to be known in the literature as the “Imperfective

⁵⁰ On the stative / non-stative distinction see also Pustejovsky (1989 and 1991), Parsons (1990), Smith (1991), McClure (1994).

Paradox” (Dowty 1979, Bach 1986). This famous paradox is associated with the possible entailments brought about by the progressive aspect. For instance, the associated entailment is: if *x* is V-ing than *x* has V-ed as we see below⁵¹:

- (114) a. Mary was writing → Mary has written.
 b. Mary was writing a letter ≠ Mary has written a letter.

The contrast between the above examples holds in the sense that in an activity (such as 114a) every temporal unit of writing is a writing event. But for an accomplishment (such as 114b) not every part of writing a letter implies the whole event of writing a letter. And this latter contrast between activities and accomplishments is generally taken to follow from the homogeneous / heterogeneous contrast mentioned above. Additionally, accomplishments can be distinguished from all other event-types through their ambiguous behaviour with scalar adverbials such as *almost*.

- (115) a. Mary almost loved Peter.
 b. Robin almost ran.
 c. Petra almost painted a picture.
 d. Mary almost reached the summit.

From (115c) we see that accomplishments alternate between a reading where the action denoted by *paint* nearly took place but did not and a reading where the action of *painting a picture* was nearly completed. With statives (115a), activities (115b) and achievements (115d) only the former reading is possible. In the following section we will see how accomplishments interact with activities at the sentential level. In addition, we will also see how statives remain the same at the sentential level.

4. 5. 3 Compositional Aspect.

In section (4. 2. 2) I mentioned that the referential properties of objective Dips affect the aspectual interpretation at the sentential level. This phenomenon has also been called aspectual composition (Verkuyl 1972, 1989), event-type-shifting (Smith 1991)

⁵¹ This paradox arises as a result of a particular assumption about the semantics of the progressive imperfective which is not often noted in the literature and need not concern us here (on this issue see Cann 1993) However, it is important to note that this test is generally included in most overviews of aspectual tests (cf. Verkuyl 1989, Pustejovsky 1991, inter alia).

or individuation (Van Voracity 1992). Although earlier I made the broad classification of verbs involved in this phenomenon in to telic and non-telic, I am now able to say more specifically, that this mainly affects activities and accomplishments. These two semantic types interact with one another in a way that it is possible to turn a lexical activity into an accomplishment and vice-versa by choosing the right type of objective DP. I mentioned that in this investigation I will use the quantised (definite, quantified and indefinite singular) and cumulative (mass and bare plural) DP contrast of Krifka (1989).

In this respect, as I illustrate in (116), an accomplishment verb such as *build* can either have its inherent telic interpretation if appearing in combination with a quantised object. However, if the same verb appears with a cumulative DP an atelic interpretation would be forced.

- (116) a. Mary built a house (in a month).
b. Mary built houses (for years)

Activities can be subjected to a similar phenomenon as illustrated in (117) below where a verb like *eat* appears in (aye) in combination with a cumulative object yielding an atelic interpretation and in (117b) with a quantised DP causing a telic interpretation⁵².

- (117) a. Mary ate apples (for hours/*in an hour).
b. Mary ate the apple (in an hour/*for hours).

However, this is not the case with all verbs of this class. For instance, with an inherently atelic activity such as *push* the alternation between cumulative and quantised Dips does not change the aspectual class of the whole construct as illustrated below:

- (118) a. Mary pushed a/the cart (for hours).
b. Mary pushed carts (for hours).

This takes us to the next issue which is that certain adjuncts are able to induce or delimit an event. For instance, if we add a locative phrase to the example (aye) we see that it then acquires a telic interpretation. This is illustrated below where the locative phrase *to the store* has been added.

- (119) Mary pushed a/the cart to the store (in an hour).

⁵² Here I have to point out that in this example the durative adverbial *for hours* is also possible but what it then means is that the activity of *eating the apple* took a long time.

Now, in connection with statives it is generally understood that these are excluded from the phenomenon of aspectual composition. This means that in contrast with accomplishments and activities, stative verbs are not affected by the referential properties of their objective DPs. Namely, whether their object has a cumulative or quantised reference statives can ever have a telic interpretation as illustrated below in (120).

- (120) a. Mary loved beer for years/*in an hour.
 b. Mary loved apples for years/*in an hour.
 c. * Mary loved three apples for years/in an hour.

Furthermore, statives cannot be delimited by a locative phrase either as illustrated below where *at the store* has been added:

- (121) * Mary loved apples at the store in three hours.

However, as we will see in section (4. 5. 5), not all verbs fitting into the category of statives are the same and although these cannot be delimited, some can themselves fulfil a delimiting function.

For achievements in turn, a similar point can be made. Namely, as mentioned in the previous section, by the very fact that these already implicitly refer to a termination point (the change of state or change of location is instantaneous), achievement verbs do not have to rely on the referential properties of their objects to induce telic and atelic interpretations. This I illustrate with the verbs *arrive* and *die* respectively:

- (122) a. Passengers arrived.
 b. Five linguists arrived.

- (123) a. Birds died.
 b. The bird died.

From (122) and (123) we see that whether the verbs combine with a quantised or a cumulative DP, the interpretation of the achievement verbs is always a telic interpretation and this is an important difference between accomplishment and achievement verbs. In Chapter V, I will employ this contrast to explain the contrast between adjectival and participial periphrastic ‘*tener*’ resultatives.

Finally, more relevant to the matter at hand, the phenomenon of aspectual composition will give us the means to characterise the internal arguments of all verbs. This will be an important step for this investigation. I will use the distinction

in connection with the terms *delimited*, *delimiting* or *non-delimiting* and these are connected to whether verbs are affected or not by the referential properties of their DPs acting as internal arguments. Bearing on the latter, in (122) and (123) we have seen that achievements are not affected by the latter but nevertheless they already refer to an action which is inherently delimited. Thus, I will characterise the internal argument of an achievement as delimited. In contrast, a delimiting internal argument is the one belonging to an activity or accomplishment which in (116) and (117) we have seen are affected by whether internal arguments are quantized or cumulative DPs. Finally, delimiting internal arguments contrast with their non-delimiting counterparts in that these latter arguments are the ones belonging to statives which as we have seen earlier can never have a telic interpretation. However, in viewing aspectual composition in such a strict way I depart from the view of Tenny (1992) who claims that both accomplishments and achievements have objects that delimit or “measure-out” an event. However, as we will see in section (4. 5. 6) below this contrast between delimited, delimiting and non-delimiting internal arguments will be employed in connection with the grammaticalisation path of perfectives.

Nevertheless, in returning to our discussion at hand, the question now is, how does both the inherent semantic classification of verbs and aspectual composition bear on the semantic classification of unaccusatives. Earlier on we saw that these are characterised in broad terms, as change of state, movement and state verbs. According to the Vendler-Dowty (Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979) aspectual typology of verbs, change of state verbs are straightforward because they can be characterised as achievements as we have seen in the examples in (123) above. However, the group containing verbs of movement is not as homogeneous. Namely, in the following section we will see how verbs of movement like *walk* or *run* are activities and others like *arrive* achievements. Finally, states do not form a homogeneous class either. In section, (4. 5. 5) I will distinguish between dynamic and static states and we will see how the former can themselves be delimiters.

4. 5. 4 Problem for Unaccusativity: Verbs of Movement.

Verbs of movement do not form a syntactically and semantically homogeneous class with respect to unaccusativity. For example, Levin and Rappaport (1992) in their extensive study of verbs of movement distinguish three types and the basis of their classification is their behaviour with respect to a number of unaccusativity diagnostics⁵³. These three classes I illustrate below:

arrive class: *arrive, come, go, depart, fall, return, descend*

roll class: *roll, slide, move, swing, spin, rotate*

run class: *run, walk, gallop, jump, hop, skip, swim*

These classes arise from the distinction of three meaning components: the *arrive* class is characterised by the meaning component of “inherently directed motion”. The *roll* and *run* classes in turn, lacking lexicalised direction are characterised as “manner of motion” verbs. And these are further subdivided according to whether there is an external cause like a person inducing the movement. This they call “Direct External Cause” or [±DEC] for short. According to this meaning component then, because verbs of the *roll* type refer to events that can occur spontaneously without the intervention of an agent, it is possible to say that they lack an external cause and are characterised as [-DEC]. In contrast, because the *run* type of verb always implies that someone or something perpetrates this action, they are categorised as [+DEC], because these do have an external cause inducing the movement.

Now in connection with the syntactic classification of these verbs, both the *arrive* and *roll* verbs are classified as unaccusatives and the *run* class as unergatives. However, it is not clear whether the *run* class should be classed uniformly as unergatives. As noted in Torrego (1989) there are a number of unergative verbs which can enter into the unaccusative class under specific syntactic and semantic conditions and I will briefly illustrate how this applies to the unergative verbs of the *run* class. In section (4. 5. 1) it was mentioned that in Spanish for an unaccusative verb, the grammatical subject appears to pattern together with a transitive object in that it allows a bare plural DP. This is not possible for unergative DPs as I illustrate below:

⁵³ The diagnostics mentioned by Levin and Rappaport (1992) are auxiliary selection, locative inversion and resultative formation which I will not discuss in connection with their work. But I will return to locative inversion in connection with statives in the following section and resultative formation as an unaccusative diagnostic in Chapter V in connection with the Modern Spanish ‘tener’ resultative.

- (124) * Duermen cigüeñas.
 Sleep-3.pl storks-fem.pl
 The storks sleep.

However, an unergative verb will behave like an unaccusative verb in relation to the bare plural test if a locative phrase appears in pre-verbal position. I illustrate this below for 'saltar' (*jump*), one of the verbs included in the run class of unergatives of Levin and Rappaport (1992) mentioned above:

- (125) Por aquí saltan ratones.
 Through here jump-3.pl mice-pl.
 Mice jump through here.

Furthermore, in Italian we find a similar pattern among this class and this manifests itself in the context of auxiliary selection. Below we see that 'correre' (*to run*) alternates between 'essere' and 'habere' selection depending on whether a locative phrase is present or not (example from Sorace 1993: 76).

- (126) a. Luigi è corso *alla stazione*. (unaccusative)
 Luigi be-3.sg run-part.masc.sg to-the-fem.sg station-fem.sg.
 Luigi has run to the station.
- b. Luigi ha corso *velocemente*. (unergative)
 Luigi have-3.sg run-part.masc.sg quickly.
 Luigi has run quickly.

Furthermore, in connection with inherent aspect Levin and Rappaport (1992: 260) note that "it has been pointed out that the prototypical unergative verbs are activity verbs in the sense of Vendler (1967), while verbs classed as unaccusative by the diagnostics are either telic or stative". And this statement suggests again that Levin and Rappaport (1992) ascribe to the view shared by Den Dikken (1993) discussed in section (4. 4. 2) where unaccusatives are telic verbs and unergatives are atelic verbs. In relation to these verbs of movement the verbs of the *arrive* class are telic and the verbs of the *roll* and *run* classes are atelic but can become telic under certain circumstances. Namely, there is a connection between the presence of the meaning component direction and telicity actions denoted by verbs of movement typically become delimited through the specification of a goal Levin and Rappaport (1992: 261).

- (127) a. * I ran in three minutes.
 b. I ran to the store in three minutes.

This contrast then, could be used as an explanation for why this class of unergative *run* verbs can act as unaccusatives under the conditions mentioned above. However, as we have seen in the previous section this is not always the case because precisely activity verbs can also be delimited by the referential properties of DPs as illustrated below with the verb *swim* appearing in combination with the quantized DP *a mile* in (128a) and the cumulative DP *for miles* in (128b).

- (128) a. Peter swam a mile in an hour.
 b. Peter swam for miles for hours.

In (128) we see how the contrast between quantized and cumulative DPs induces either a telic or an atelic interpretation. Furthermore, it was precisely in connection with examples like these in German (example 106) that I questioned the discrete contrast between *be* and *have* selection in connection to whether verbs are telic or atelic. And now, I question further that unaccusativity should be connected to telicity directly, especially if stative verbs are put into the equation. These latter verbs, however, I will discuss in more detail in the following section. Meanwhile, I will deal with this issue in relation to verbs of movement and here even Levin and Rappaport (1992) ask a similar question. As an answer to this, they mention that the argument of an intransitive verb of directed motion delimits or “measures-out the event” in the above mentioned sense of Tenny (1992) and thus qualifies as a direct object determining the unaccusative status of the verb. Therefore, from here we can conclude that what unaccusative verbs have in common is the fact that their internal argument can be characterised as a direct object. Nevertheless, in the light of the paradox between argument structure and the syntax created by Burzio’s Generalisation in relation to unaccusativity mentioned in the previous section, I will prefer to characterise this sole argument as an internal argument rather than as a direct object⁵⁴. Bearing on the latter in section (4. 4. 2) I proposed to view auxiliary selection as involving some sort of parasitic relation between the auxiliaries involved and the embedded predicates and this relation crucially involves internal arguments. Therefore, in connection with the latter the fact that unaccusative verbs have in common that they have an internal argument at argument structure seems more reasonable than telicity. And this property is also the one which unergative verbs can also have in common, because as we have seen in section (4. 4. 1) on the grounds that these verbs can have a covert cognate object (example 96), unergatives can also

⁵⁴ In Chapter V it will become more clear that this is the case when we look at the contrast between a perfective and a resultative internal argument.

be categorised as having an optional internal argument at argument structure. However, how these internal arguments surface in the syntax as unaccusatives or unergatives becomes dependent on more general properties of the individual languages. However, I will not delve into this issues because it would take us beyond the scope of this investigation. Nevertheless, the suggestion that what unaccusatives have in common is simply the fact that they can be categorised as having an internal arguments at argument structure rather than being characterised by the meaning component of telicity is not unreasonable. However, I am not totally ruling out telicity. Namely, by the very fact that unaccusativity is connected to internal argument status, this provides the conditions for telicity to arise. In connection with the latter, in section (4. 2. 2) we have already seen how it is objects and not subjects which contribute to the phenomenon of sentential aspect. And as concluded in section (4. 5. 3), it is precisely aspectual composition will give us the means to characterise all internal arguments depending on how these are involved in this phenomenon. In taking a more restrictive view on aspectual composition than Tenny (1992), I have proposed that since achievements already refer to an action which is inherently delimited, these are not affected by whether internal arguments are cumulative or quantized DPs, therefore their internal argument should be categorised as inherently delimited. Activities in contrast, are affected by the referential properties of their objective DPs and thus have delimiting internal arguments. Thus, if we apply the latter contrast to these verbs of movement, we can then say that the internal argument of the *arrive* class is a delimited one, and the *roll* and *run* class counterparts are delimiting internal arguments. This contrast between delimited and delimiting internal arguments I will take as the property involved in the weakening process of internal arguments which in section (4. 4. 2) I have proposed to influence the grammaticalisation of auxiliary selecting systems. However, before I continue with this point, in the following section I will present how the issue of unaccusativity fares with atelic stative verbs.

4. 5. 5 Problem for Unaccusativity: Statives.

In section (4. 5. 3) we have seen how statives can never be delimited by the referential properties of their object or a locative phrase and if we take telicity as the central property characterising unaccusativity, this will make them out to be the most unlikely unaccusatives. Furthermore, the difficulty to classify these verbs is further connected to the fact (not always recognised) that not all stative verbs are the same.

The first thing that comes to mind in the description of statives is the Individual-

Level and Stage-Level distinction of Carlson (1977). In broad terms, this distinction refers to the contrast between predicates expressing more inherent and essential sorts of properties of an individual and predicates expressing attributing accidental sorts of properties of stages (temporal or locational) of an individual. This contrast I have illustrated below with adjectives such as *intelligent* and *drunk*.

- (129) a. John is intelligent.
b. John is drunk.

In (129a) the adjective *intelligent* refers to an inherent characteristic of *John*'s personality and is therefore, an Individual-Level adjective. Additionally, in (129b) *drunk* refers to a temporal condition of *John* and is then a Stage-Level predicate. This contrast has been employed for the explanation of various phenomena and one such example is Modern Spanish where the contrast between adjectives mentioned earlier, is reflected through their distribution with the copulas '*ser*' (*inherent be*) and '*estar*' (*contingent be*). This contrast I illustrate below.

- (130) a. Juan es/*está inteligente.
Juan be(inh).3.sg/*be(cont)-3.sg intelligent-sg.
Juan is intelligent.

b. Juan *es/ está borracho.
Juan be(inh).3.sg/*be(cont)-3.sg drunk-masc.sg.
Juan is drunk.

In (130a) we see how an Individual-Level adjective such as '*inteligente*' (*intelligent*) can occur only in the context of '*ser*' and in contrast, the Stage-Level predicate '*borracho*' (*drunk*) can only occur in the context of '*estar*'. In the verbal domain, this Individual-Level and Stage-Level distinction has been used repeatedly in connection with the Vendler-Dowty (Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979) classification of verbs, especially to distinguish statives from the rest of aspectual classes. In this context then, statives are classed as Individual-Level and events (i.e. activities, accomplishments and achievements) as Stage-Level (Kratzer 1988). However, this assumes that statives form a uniform class and there is no reason to believe that this is the case. Namely, if adjectives, which are stative, can be classified according to the Individual-Level/Stage-Level distinction, there is no reason to believe that this should not be possible among verbal statives. And in fact, there is a minority of authors who believe that verbal statives include *static* and *dynamic* types (Carlson 1981, Pustejovsky 1989). The former group includes verbs such as *know*,

believe, have, love and verbs like *stand, support, sit* are classed as dynamic. One way to distinguish these two types, concerns the testing grounds for statives I mentioned in section (4. 5. 2). There we saw that statives do not as readily combine with the progressive, cannot appear in the imperative and cannot be modified by agent oriented adverbials such as *voluntarily*. The ungrammatical examples given in (113) involved the static verb *love*, nevertheless, if we use these testing grounds in the context of a dynamic stative such as *sit* we see that the result is grammatical as in (131):

- (131) a. Peter is sitting.
 b. Sit !
 c. Peter sat voluntarily.

Therefore, according to Carlson (1981) these dynamic statives can be categorised as a class in between statives and activities, since they appear to share properties of both. And again, in returning to the Individual-Level and Stage-Level distinction we can now reclass static states as Individual-Level and their dynamic counterparts, being somewhere in between stative and eventive, as Stage-Level. Now, as mentioned above, statives have always been problematic as unaccusatives. However, this does not disclassify them as unaccusatives. In this connection I have to mention the test of locative inversion proposed in the literature as an unaccusative diagnostic (Levin and Rappaport 1992) which applies to these stative and which I illustrate below for Spanish '*estar*' :

- (132) a. El libro está en la mesa.
 The-masc.sg book-masc.sg be-3.sg on the-fem.sg table-fem.sg.
 The book is on the table.
 b. *En la mesa* está el libro.

As we see from the alternation between the underived structure in (132a) and the ordering of constituents in (132b), locative inversion involves the preposing of the locative phrase '*en la mesa*' and the post-posing of the subject '*el libro*' to the post-verbal position. According to Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) the locative phrase in the inversion structure becomes a subject⁵⁵ and the former subject behaves in some respects like an object. Furthermore, this is possible only with verbs whose theme has not been assigned accusative case, hence transitives and unergatives are excluded from undergoing this phenomenon. Therefore, by the very fact that locative

⁵⁵ The literature on locative inversion contains conflicting proposals both in connection with the status of the postposed subject and the preposed locative phrase. For references and discussion on this issue see Bresnan and Kanerva (1989).

inversion singles out an argument which has not been assigned accusative case and excludes the ones which are transitive, this supports further the paradox between what happens in the syntax and argument structure and the fact that what the whole class of unaccusatives have in common is, that their sole argument is an internal one. And locative inversion tells us that statives can also be categorised as such. However, what has to be said about stative verbs is that their internal argument is a weak one in terms of aspectual composition. In section (4. 5. 3) I categorised the internal argument of statives as a non-delimiting one and this property I now propose is what makes statives weak, however, this does not disclassify them as unaccusatives. The syntactic classification does not always follow the semantic one, as an example of this, we can see that transitive statives with a non-delimiting internal argument are still classified as transitives. Nonetheless, the fact that these stative unaccusatives have a weak internal argument will provide the right conditions for which grammaticalisation can take place as we will see in the following section. However, before I continue with this issue I still have to address the final point of how does the above distinction between static and dynamic states bear on unaccusativity. Here I propose that unaccusatives are found mainly among the dynamic type of statives. Above we have seen that these mainly include positional verbs such as *sit* or *stand* which have in common with the other members of the class some meaning component referring to locations. And although as mentioned above, these verbs can never be delimited and their internal arguments is non-delimiting, it is the case that they themselves can become delimiters. For instance, as we will see in more detail in the following chapter in connection with the periphrastic resultative, one could speculate that *be* and *have* being connected to the locative paradigm (see Chapter II, section 2. 2. 3), enter the perfective paradigm precisely because of this reason. Meanwhile, as mentioned above, in the following section I will present the main stages involved in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives and we will see how statives will play an important role in this process.

4. 5. 6 The Transitions.

Stative verbs have been claimed to play an important role in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives (Benzing 1931, Carey 1994, Bybee et al. 1994). I will distinguish two major steps in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives. The first step involves the periphrastic resultative discussed in section (4. 2. 1) and the perfect is the result of the reanalysis from this construction (Trask 1996). This step I will call the resultative to perfective step. The second step, involves the change from a *have* / *be* auxiliary selection type of system to a *have* only system. I will describe both steps

briefly and we will see how stative verbs play an important role in both of them.

In section (4. 2. 1) we have seen that the periphrastic resultative is formed both with *have* and *be*. These verbs combine either with adjectival or verbal participles denoting “change of state” such as for instance *die*, *break*, *destroy*. For Romance languages, the precursor of this construction was found in Latin and its emergence is connected to more general changes that occurred in the verbal paradigms. According to Penny (1991) the verbal system in Latin underwent a process of unification of verbal stems which led to the loss of the perfectivity marker -v- contained in the verbal stems. For instance, as a result of this unification the indicative preterite form ‘cantaveram’ became ‘cantaram’ and its subjunctive counterpart ‘cantavissem’ became ‘cantassem’. Additionally, this unification provided the right conditions for the emergence of a number of periphrastic constructions and one of these is the precursor of the perfective which is the resultative construction. These changes were part of a broader change which brought about the increasing subservience of aspect to tense in the Latin language. However, this is an issue I will not go into detail, because it goes beyond the scope of this investigation. Instead, I will continue with the characterisation of the resultatives.

In section (4. 2. 1), it was mentioned briefly that for the periphrastic resultative construction, transitive verbs generally combined with ‘habere’ (*have*). At the start this verb retained its possessive value. According to Penny (1991) this meant that this periphrastic resultative was highly restricted in that it was possible only with [+human] subjects and where the direct object was overt and acted as “the thing possessed” by the subject. This construction I illustrate below from Latin (example from Penny 1991: 141)⁵⁶:

- (133) Habeo cultellum comparatum.
 Have-1.sg knife-acc.masc buy-part.acc.masc
 I have bought the knife .
 (meaning: I have the bought knife)

Intransitive verbs in contrast, took ‘esse’ (*be*) and initially this only applied to a subclass of verbs belonging to the group known as deponent verbs. These verbs are peculiar in that they display passive morphology, but actually have active meaning. The subclass of deponent verbs involved in this periphrastic resultative includes verbs such as ‘mortuus est’ (*he has died*) or ‘natus est’ (*he has been born*) which are nothing other than the change of state verbs classed nowadays as

⁵⁶ This construction Penny (1991) describes as equivalent to the Modern Spanish ‘tener’ resultative which will be discussed in great detail in the following chapter.

unaccusatives. Deponent verbs of movement such as ‘*ventus est*’ (*he has come*) were included later. These verbs, in turn can be categorised as the ones corresponding to the verbs of the *arrive* class of Rappaport and Levin (1992) discussed in section (4. 5. 4). Unaccusatives such as these we have seen, are the ones characterised by the meaning component of inherently directed motion. And these are the ones starting the process of reanalysis into a perfective. The reason why these verbs of the *arrive* class start the process is precisely, because they are related to the change of state ones in terms of their aspectual type. Both these verb classes belong to the aspectual type of achievements. However, according to Bybee et al. (1994), the process of reanalysis is not complete until the construction is possible with all semantic types of verbs and most importantly, until the construction can be used with stative verbs. Therefore, stative verbs are the last ones to enter the perfective paradigm. The reason we have to ask ourselves now is why is it the case that these are the last verbs to enter the paradigm. I propose that the reason why statives can be included in the paradigm is connected to a weakening of the object orientedness feature characterising resultatives (cf. section 4. 2. 2).

However, in order to show how the weakening of the object orientedness feature comes about, I will return to the delimited, delimiting and non-delimiting internal argument distinction of section (4. 5. 3) above which was conceived in connection with compositional aspect. For *be* selection we can now grade all the verbs entering into its distribution according to the type of their internal arguments:

BE:	change of state	> delimited internal argument
	arrive-class of movement	> delimited internal argument
	roll-class of movement	> delimiting internal argument
	run-class of movement	> delimiting internal argument
	stative	> non-delimiting internal arg.

What we see here is that the weakening of the object orientedness characteristic of the resultative becomes weakened in relation to the properties of the internal arguments of the verbs involved and this tells us that there is a difference among these. The strongest verbs are the ones with delimited internal arguments. In section (4. 5. 3) we have seen that these verbs are achievements which are not affected by the cumulative / quantized DP contrast. These achievements are followed by activities which I have characterised as having delimiting internal arguments. And finally, stative verbs are the weakest verbs in aspectual terms. The reason for their weakness is precisely the fact that statives can never be delimited by the referential properties of their objective (internal argument) DPs and hence have a non-delimiting internal argument. This property makes them highly adaptable and the

fact that statives are the last verbs to enter the perfective paradigm is not surprising for this reason. As it is not surprising either that these should also be the first ones to leave the *be* paradigm in order to enter the *have* paradigm (Benzing 1931, Yllera 1980).

And this takes us to the the second change which is the one where the *have* / *be* selection system becomes replaced by a system where *have* is the sole auxiliary for the perfect. From the literature it is never very clear whether the resultative to perfective drift and the *have* / *be* to *have* drift occur independently or whether they are interrelated. I will interpret these two drifts as interrelated. Furthermore, I will consider that the process is related to the moment when the semantic component of possession becomes weakened in the *have* resultative. In the literature, this is often taken to coincide with the moment when *have* starts to combine with mental state verbs, reporting verbs and stative verbs of perception (Harre 1991, Penny 1991, Bybee et al. 1994). These constructions I illustrate below for the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ construction. Here the Modern Spanish verb of possession combines with the mental state verb ‘*pensar*’ (*to think*) in (134a), the reporting verb ‘*decir*’ (*to tell*) in (134b) and finally the verb of perception *oir*’ (*to hear*) in (134c).

- (134) a. Tengo pensado comer salchichas.
 Have-1.sg think-part.masc.sg eat-Inf sausage-fem.pl
 I have thought of going to your house.
- b. Te tengo dicho que no comas por la mañana.
 To-you-dat.cl.sg have-1.sg say-part.masc.sg that not eat-subj.2.sg in the-fem.sg morning-fem.sg.
 I have told you (many times) not to eat in the morning.
- c. Tengo oído que en Timbuktu hace mucho calor en verano.
 Have-1.sg hear-part.masc.sg that in Timbuktu make-3.sg much heat-sg in Summer-masc.sg
 I have heard that in Timbuktu it is very hot in Summer.

Although in the following chapter we will see how this construction acts mainly as a periphrastic resultative, in the environments illustrated above this construction acquires an interpretation that has been described as highlighting the state of the subject (Gómez-Torrego 1988) rather than the object (as in resultatives, section 4. 2. 1). Additionally, this state of the subject has been correlated with a denotation which is close to a perfective (Gili Gaya 1961). Furthermore, these constructions involving

mental state verbs, verbs of perception and reporting verbs open the door for the semantic change to take place between resultative to perfective. According to Bybee et al. (1994: 67) “this change can be seen as a generalisation of meaning by which some of the specificity associated with the resultative stage is eroded.” I will characterise this change further as involving first a weakening of the object orientedness characteristic of resultatives (section 4. 2. 3 above) and this favours the process where an initially object oriented construction becomes a subject oriented one.

We have just seen how this latter process comes about via the combination of *have* with mental state verbs, verbs of perception and reporting verbs illustrated above. However, this process is also preceded by a weakening of the object oriented property in very much the manner of what we have seen described above for the *be* paradigm. This however, will be the subject of the following chapter.

Finally, from the fact that in relation to the *have/be* turn statives seem to play an important role, we can now draw an important correlation with the strong / weak auxiliary selection system distinction I provided in section (4. 4. 3). We can now characterise this distinction in relation to whether statives are included or excluded from the *be* paradigm. Furthermore, another equation in the characterisation will be whether perfective systems are marked by the perfective/resultative ambiguity or not. Therefore, a system which is marked by resultative / perfective ambiguity and which includes statives I will call a complete or strong auxiliary selection rule. From what we have seen elsewhere in this chapter this is what characterises the Italian system of auxiliary selection. In contrast, a system which does not display this resultative/perfective ambiguity and which does not include statives among the *be* selection paradigm I will call a system with a weak auxiliary selection rule. We have seen from previous discussion that this is what characterises the French system. I will return to this in Chapter VI in connection with Old Spanish.

4. 5. 7 Summary.

In this section I started off by looking at what unaccusatives have in common and on the basis that all unaccusativity diagnostics highlight the fact that what characterises these verbs is that their grammatical subject is an internal argument at argument structure. I have highlighted that the Unaccusative Hypothesis based on Burzio’s Generalisation (Burzio 1986) creates a paradox between what happens in the syntax and what happens at argument structure (Manning 1997). This paradox then has led to the characterisation of an unaccusative grammatical subject as an internal

argument rather than an object.

Furthermore, I have characterised unaccusative verbs in terms of the Vendler-Dowty aspectual typology (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979). Bearing on the latter, change of state verbs are achievements. In following Levin and Rappaport (1992) the group of verbs of movement has been divided into three subtypes: the arrive-class, the roll class and the run-class. In terms of inherent aspect the arrive class can be grouped together with achievements and the roll and run classes are activities. Finally, statives were distinguished according to the dynamic / static distinction (Carlson 1981, Pustejovsky 1989) and I proposed that unaccusatives are to be found mainly among the dynamic class.

This characterisation of unaccusative verbs in terms of the aspectual typology has also provided a characterisation of these verbs in terms of how they are involved in the phenomenon of aspectual composition or sentential aspect (Verkuyl 1972, 1989, Krifka 1989, Smith 1991). More specifically, what I have been concentrating on is on how unaccusatives are involved in this phenomenon. Therefore, the internal argument of an achievement unaccusative can be characterised as an inherently delimited internal argument, because this aspectual type is never affected by whether DPs are quantized or cumulative. This very property makes these verb aspectually strong. Activities, on the other hand, have delimiting internal arguments because these can change aspectual type depending on the referential properties of their internal arguments. This latter property makes a delimiting internal argument aspectually variable. And finally, statives can never be delimited but some themselves can be delimiters (mainly dynamic statives) and this property makes these verbs aspectually weak and malleable. Therefore it is not surprising that these play an important role in the process of grammaticalisation. Furthermore, also the fact that the internal arguments of the verbs in terms of delimited, delimiting and non-delimiting is important for the explanation of the process of grammaticalisation of the perfective system. But most importantly, what can be concluded from this section is the fact that, although the whole class of unaccusatives is not semantically homogeneous, it is still the case that the DP functioning as their grammatical subject can be characterised as an internal argument at argument structure.

4. 6 Conclusion.

In this chapter I returned to the Functional / Lexical auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) in the area of Romance Perfectives. We have seen that in these languages VP-Preposing is also the diagnostic proposed to determine the lexical properties for perfective auxiliaries. However, for practical reasons I proposed to look for evidence of the latter in a different area. Especially, I proposed to return to the issue of selectional restrictions and in section (4. 2). It was proposed that the correlate of root modals in the area of perfectives, is the resultative construction involved in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives. On the basis that in some languages, perfectives are characterised by the resultative/perfective ambiguity it was claimed that resultative construction was to tell us what the selectional restriction is related to for Lexical perfective auxiliaries. I proposed that since resultatives are object-oriented aspectual constructions, it seems reasonable to assume that the selectional restriction was connected in some way to internal arguments. In the previous chapter we saw how this is interpreted as the situation where the auxiliary enters into some scope relation with the arguments of the embedded predicate. I now claim that for Lexical perfective auxiliaries this involves the internal argument of the embedded participle.

In section (4. 3) we saw the principal formal features characterising the systems of both Functional and Lexical auxiliaries. We saw that Functional auxiliaries are to be found in a *have* only auxiliary system which is coupled with consistent default agreement. It was proposed to return to these in Chapter VI and the system of Lexical auxiliaries was characterised further at this point. This type we saw was characterised as a system with *be* and *have* and where (object or subject) participial agreement is present in certain environments. It was concluded that in some systems with Lexical auxiliaries perfectives are characterised by a strong auxiliary selection feature together with the resultative/perfective ambiguity. The auxiliary selection feature was examined in more detail. I started off by presenting the Unaccusative Hypothesis in connection with Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986) which we saw establishes a connection between structural Case and the incidence of external arguments. We saw that this generalisation explains the unaccusative and unergative contrast in terms of the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction and we saw that in the literature this was often provided as an explanation of the phenomenon of auxiliary selection. However, it was mentioned that this was not going to be the approach of this investigation because this does not give us information about the lexical properties of auxiliaries. We saw the approach of Den Dikken (1993) who proposes that auxiliary selection should be explained in connection with the aspectual notion of telicity. Telic verbs select for *be* and *atelic* ones select for *have*. This position was rejected on the grounds that it is too strong, since there appears to be linguistic variation in relation to auxiliary selection and that not all unaccusative verbs are equally unaccusative. It was suggested that the variation is connected to some property of unaccusatives and to the transition from

auxiliary to non-auxiliary selecting system. In section (4. 5. 1) on the basis that all unaccusativity diagnostics highlight the fact that the argument functioning as grammatical subject is an internal argument at argument structure. It was pointed out the Unaccusative Hypothesis based on Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986) creates a paradox between what happens in the syntax and what happens at argument structure (Manning 1997). This paradox then has led to the characterisation of an unaccusative grammatical subject as an internal argument rather than an object.

Unaccusative verbs were characterised in terms of the Vendler-Dowty aspectual typology (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979) in sections (4. 5. 3), (4. 5. 4) and (4. 5. 5). Change of state unaccusatives are achievements. Verbs of movement were divided into three subtypes (Levin and Rappaport 1992): The *arrive*-class, the *roll*-class and the *run*-class. In terms of inherent aspect the arrive class are achievements. The roll and run classes are activities. Statives were distinguished according to the dynamic / static distinction (Carlson 1981, Pustejovsky 1989) and I proposed that unaccusatives are to be found mainly among the dynamic class.

A characterisation has also been provided of how these unaccusative verbs are involved in the phenomenon of compositional aspect (Verkuyl 1972, 1989, Krifka 1989, Smith 1991) and this has in turn, served to characterise the internal argument of unaccusatives according to whether these have delimited, delimiting or non-delimiting internal arguments. Therefore, the internal argument of an achievement unaccusative can be characterised as an inherently delimited internal argument and this very property makes these verb aspectually strong. Activities, on the other hand, have delimiting internal arguments and this latter property makes a delimiting internal argument aspectually variable. Finally, statives can never be delimited but some themselves can be delimiters (mainly dynamic statives) and this property makes these verbs aspectually weak and malleable. Therefore, it is not surprising that these play an important role in the process of grammaticalisation of perfectives. In section (4. 5. 6) we saw how for *have* perfectives it is certain statives such as verbs of perception and cognition which start the process. For *be* selection we saw that the process of grammaticalisation from resultative to perfective is not complete until statives are included in the paradigm. Finally, it was also concluded that the inclusion or exclusion of statives from the *be* paradigm and whether systems are characterised by the perfective/resultative ambiguity or not would tell us the difference between a strong and a weak system of auxiliary selection.

In the following chapter I will characterise further the properties involved in periphrastic resultatives and I will examine the two types that can be found in Modern Spanish in the context of the possessive verb '*tener*'. The first and less grammaticalised form of this construction involves perfective adjectives (in the sense of Bosque 1990) and the second and more grammaticalised type we will see is the

one formed with participles. In the former 't~~e~~ner' is clearly a full verb and in the latter it is a Lexical auxiliary. I will return to the issue of selectional restrictions and I will identify more clearly what these are connected to in the resultative construction.

Chapter V

Resultatives:

The Case of Modern Spanish ‘Tener’.

5.0 Introduction.

In the previous chapter (section 4. 1 and 4. 2) Lexical auxiliaries were characterised as bringing some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in. In connection with the latter, we saw how this selectional restriction applies to modals. For deontic modals the selectional restriction was related to the requirement of a human sentient subject. I asked the question of how this selectional restriction would apply to perfective Lexical auxiliaries. According to Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) Lexical perfective auxiliaries generally appear in the context of auxiliary selecting languages. I looked at these languages more closely and I concluded that apart from displaying the formal feature of participial agreement, these languages are also characterised on the one hand, by a strong auxiliary selection rule and on the other, by the perfective/resultative ambiguity. I proposed that in these languages, it is this latter ambiguity which will tell us what the selectional restriction is related to for perfective Lexical auxiliaries. Finally, on the grounds of the perfective/resultative ambiguity, the fact that objects rather than subjects contribute to sentential aspect and the fact that resultatives are object-oriented constructions, I proposed that the selectional restriction for Lexical perfective auxiliaries, is connected in some way to internal arguments.

The purpose of this chapter now is to investigate further the periphrastic resultative construction which is connected historically to perfectives. More specifically, I will investigate the properties of the Modern Spanish ‘tener’ participial resultative construction. This construction will serve to tell us what the selectional restriction is connected to. In section (5. 1. 1) we will see briefly that this construction requires a [+human] subject. But most importantly, we will see that the ‘tener’ participial resultative is constrained syntactically and semantically in such a way, that what is

highlighted are the properties of the direct object. Namely, in this construction the internal argument necessarily has to be an affected delimited accusative direct object. This constraint I will call the Quantized Specific DP Constraint and I will propose that this object DP is constrained in such a way, because it is a composite argument of the Lexical auxiliary '**tener**' and the participle. In order to support this approach further, I will investigate the Modern Spanish participial resultative alongside another related resultative '**tener**' construction which involves perfective adjectives (in the sense of Bosque 1990). We will see how in this construction the perfective adjective is a secondary predicate which is linked to the objective DP and which is licensed by '**tener**'. Therefore, this adjectival resultative will provide us with the initial motivation for an analysis of the '**tener**' construction in terms of an argument linking approach of some sort. We will see that although adjectival and participial resultative constructions share a number of properties, they appear in complementary distribution. This in turn, will lead to a distinction between argument linking in the syntax and linking at argument structure.

This chapter is organised as follows: In section (5. 1) we will see the general formal properties characterising the '**tener**' participial resultative construction. I will show how in the generative literature, it has been related to the causative *have* construction in Lois (1989) and analysed as a passive participle construction in Egerland (1998). In section (5. 2) I will present the syntactic and semantic constraints holding on the '**tener**' participial construction and we will see how the presence of the objective DP follows from the interaction of both types of constraints. In section (5. 3) I turn to the adjectival '**tener**' resultative counterpart and we will see that this construction is connected morphologically and semantically to its participial counterpart and we will also see how it is a less constrained construction. This latter characteristic will serve in section (5. 4), to distinguish the participial and the adjectival resultative in terms of the contrast between a complex and a secondary predication structure.

5.1 The ‘tener’ Participial Resultative.

5.1.1 General.

In the Spanish linguistic tradition the ‘tener’ resultative construction has been described extensively in descriptive grammars of the traditional type⁵⁷ under the general heading of “Participial Periphrasis”. This construction takes the form of (135a) and (135b) below:

- (135) a. (Ya) tengo escrita la mitad del libro.
(Already) have-1.sg write-part.fem.sg the-fem.sg half of-the-masc.sg book-masc.sg
I have (already) half of the book written .
- b. (Ya) Tengo pintados cinco cuadros.
(Already) have-1.sg paint-part.masc.pl five painting-masc.pl
I have (already) five paintings painted.

As we see above, in this construction ‘tener’ combines with certain participles to give resultative meanings. These participles always display objective agreement as illustrated below where the different agreement relations are shown in the context of objective cliticization and wh-extraction.

- (136) a. ¿ Los tienes pintados [t_i] ?
The-acc.cl.masc.pl have-2.sg paint-part.masc.pl.
Do you have them painted ?
- b. ¿ Cuantos cuadros tienes pintados [t_i] ?
How-many-masc.pl painting-masc.pl have-2.sg paint-part.masc.pl.
How many paintings do you have painted ?

In Chapter IV (section 4. 3. 3) we have seen how this type of agreement pattern is characteristic of the Romance *have* perfective in auxiliary selecting languages. However, in contrast to these perfectives where agreement is never present where the

⁵⁷ These include Gili Gaya (1961), RAE (1973), Alcina & Blecua (1975), Gómez Torrego (1988), Seco (1988). In Harre (1991) we find up to this date the most comprehensive study of this construction under the perspective of Grammaticalisation. The present study is also motivated with this process in mind. And although at the general descriptive level the reader might find certain similarities with the work of this latter author, here I have to point out that neither the analysis presented here nor the argumentation bears any resemblance with the one presented by Harre (1991).

objective DP is in its canonical post-verbal position (cf. example 93), for the ‘*tener*’ construction agreement is present also in this latter context. Namely, in addition to the agreement pattern observed in (136) in extraction contexts, in examples (135a) and (135b) above, we see how the participles ‘*escrita*’ (*written*) and ‘*pintados*’ (*painted*) also enter into an agreement relationship with the post-verbal objective DPs ‘*la mitad del libro*’ (*half of the book*) and ‘*cinco cuadros*’ (*five paintings*) respectively⁵⁸.

Additionally, in the same section we have also seen how the presence of agreement is one of the defining characteristics for Lexical auxiliaries in the area of perfective auxiliaries. Therefore, in the first instance, on the grounds of the agreement pattern illustrated in (135) and (136) and the fact that there is a historical connection between resultatives and perfectives (as seen Chapter IV section 4. 2), I will characterise ‘*tener*’ as a Lexical auxiliary. I will support the Lexical auxiliary status of ‘*tener*’ further, by contrasting this resultative construction with a less grammaticalised version of it. This construction we will see discussed in more detail in section (5. 3). There we will see how in this less grammaticalised resultative construction, ‘*tener*’ is a full verb of possession and it combines with perfective adjectives (in the sense of Bosque 1990).

Meanwhile, in returning to the issue of participle agreement, as mentioned in Chapter IV (section 4. 3. 3) in this investigation I will be less concerned with the conditions under which the above mentioned agreement arises. Therefore, I will leave this issue aside again. Instead, the issue I am concerned with here is the lexical property that makes an auxiliary a Lexical one. Bearing on the latter, throughout Chapter III, I have mentioned repeatedly that Lexical auxiliaries are characterised by importing some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in. And in section (3. 3. 2) I concluded that the selectional restriction involved in Lexical auxiliaries is related to information concerning its arguments.

For the periphrastic participial resultative, in the previous chapter I mentioned two selectional restrictions. The first selectional restriction I mentioned briefly (and I did not make an issue of), is connected to the subject. In section (4. 5. 6) we saw how in Latin the periphrastic ‘*habere*’ was possible only with [+human] subjects and from (137) we see that this is also the case for the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ resultative.

⁵⁸ In Chapter VI we will see how this agreement pattern reemerges for Old Spanish.

- (137) Petra / *la pintura tiene pintados cinco cuadros.
 Petra / *the-fem.sg paint have-3.sg paint-part.masc.pl five painting-masc.pl.
 Petra / the paint has painted five paintings.

The second selectional restriction I mentioned, was related to the objective DP. Although I did not substantiate this, I provided to reasons pointing in the direction of the objective DP: the first one was a more general and abstract reason which was related to the area of aspectual composition. More specifically, as we saw in section (4. 2. 2), this was related to the fact that mainly objects rather than subjects tend to contribute to sentential aspect. The second reason I provided, was a more concrete one and is related to the fact that resultatives are semantically object-oriented and are possible only for direct objects. Subjects and obliques we saw, are excluded from resultative predication. This property of resultatives has been called in the literature the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983, Rapoport 1986, 1993, Hoekstra 1988, 1992, Tenny 1992, Rappaport and Levin 1989, Levin and Rappaport 1995). The purpose of this chapter, is to characterise further this selectional restriction related to the direct object. We will see that this periphrastic resultative is a highly constrained construction, even more than the Germanic type of resultative (of the type *the children ran their nikes threadbare*) featured in Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 1). However, we will see how the Direct Object Restriction can be explained in terms of certain syntactic and semantic constraints holding on this periphrastic resultative construction (section 5. 2. 5 below).

In what follows, however, I will continue with the general characterisation of this ‘tener’ construction and we will see how it has been dealt with in the generative tradition where this participial periphrastic construction has not been dealt with in great detail. In section (5. 1. 2) we will see how it has been correlated with the *have* causative construction in Lois (1989) and in section (5. 1. 3) we will see how in the work of Egerland (1998) the participle involved in this periphrastic resultative in Swedish has been analysed from the passive participle perspective (in the sense of Jaeggli 1986).

5. 1. 2 The ‘tener’ Construction is not the Causative .

In Lois (1989) the Modern Spanish ‘tener’ participial resultative construction is mentioned briefly in correlation with its Portuguese counterpart. In this latter work it is called the “causative” ‘ter’ (*have*) construction which I illustrate below (example

from Lois 1989: 236, fn.4, glosses are my own):

- (138) Tenho a carta escrita.
Have-1.sg the-fem.sg letter-fem.sg write-part.fem.
I have the letter written.

However, it is important to point out that this construction is not a causative in the strict sense. Let us compare briefly with its English *have* causative counterpart illustrated below.

- (139) I have the letter written.

In this English construction, the subject of matrix *have* and the embedded participle are referentially distinct and its interpretation can be paraphraseable as *I make someone write the letter*. This is an important difference between the Spanish and Portuguese ‘*tener*’ and ‘*ter*’ constructions and their English *have* causative counterpart. Namely, both in the Spanish and Portuguese examples above, the interpretation must always be a resultative interpretation and can never be a causative one in the above narrow sense. That is, the interpretation for ‘*tenho a carta escrita*’ (*I have the letter written*) always has to mean that I have *the letter* and this is in a certain state as the result of my past action of writing, rather than the causative interpretation paraphraseable as *I make someone write the letter* ⁵⁹. In the following section we will see how this construction has also been analysed in terms of the passive analysis of Jaeggli (1986).

5. 1. 3 Egerland (1998).

The work of Egerland (1998)⁶⁰ involves the analysis of the Swedish *have* resultative. At the more general level this construction is categorised together with middles and nominal passives, as belonging to the group of “Affectedness” constructions. At the more specific level, the resultative construction is contrasted with the perfective *have* construction. These constructions are illustrated below in (140a) and (140b)

⁵⁹ However, (139) as it stands can for speakers of Hiberno-English also have a resultative interpretation.

⁶⁰ In Egerland (1998) the affectedness construction is described as following similar constraints than its Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ counterpart. However, as we will see in subsequent sections the Modern Spanish construction differs from its Swedish counterpart in a number of ways.

respectively (examples from Egerland 1998: 23):

- (140) a. Jag har väskorna packade.
I have the suitcases_[pl.] packed_[pl.].
- b. Jag har packat väskorna.
I have packed_[-Agr] the suitcases_[pl.].

As we see from (140) there are a number of differences between these two constructions. On the surface the most striking contrasts between the participles in the resultative and perfective structures are related to participle agreement and word-order. In (140a) we see that the plural agreement of the participle 'packade' (*packed*) matches the plural morphology of the objective DP 'väskorna' (*the suitcases*) and in (140b) we see that this is not the case for perfectives where there is no agreement relation between the object and the participle. In (140) we also see how this agreement contrast is paralleled by a contrast in word order. In (140a) the objective DP 'väskorna' (*the suitcases*) appears to the left of the agreeing participle and in contrast for the perfective in (140b), the same DP appears to the right of its non-agreeing counterpart.

Finally, the examples in (140) also show that there is a difference in interpretation which concerns the arguments functioning as subjects. The perfective structure in (140b) is characterised by identity of subjects, in the resultative in contrast, there is no identity of subjects between participles and the verb of possession in (140a). As Egerland (1998: 24) puts it, "the PAP-construction denotes the subject's possession of the result of past action" and there is no implication that the surface subject performed the action of packing of the suitcases. Furthermore, in order to explain this non-identity of subjects between the verb of possession and the participle in the participial resultative, he assumes the classic view of passive formation where this grammatical function changing process involves the suppression of the external argument and the externalisation of the internal one (Jaeggli 1986). Therefore, if the participle is interpreted as having undergone passivization, the agent will surface implicitly and there will not be identification.

This explanation for the non-identification of subjects of the Swedish participial *have* resultative based on the passive participle analysis, appears to be straightforward and elegant at first sight, because it unites this construction together with the other affectedness constructions (middles and nominal passives) under a

similar analysis. Furthermore, according to Egerland (1998) this type of passive analysis also extends to its Modern Spanish ‘tener’ counterpart. As we will see in section (5. 2. 2) the Modern Spanish ‘tener’ participial resultative is also characterised by affectedness. Nevertheless, an analysis of this construction based on the passive participle, is not an assumption that can be applied. Namely, in contrast to its Swedish counterpart, the Spanish resultative can have both interpretations of identification and non-identification of subjects as illustrated below.

- (141) Tengo las cartas escritas.
 Have-1.sg the-fem.pl letters-fem.pl written-fem.pl
 I have the letters written.

The interpretation of (141) as it stands can be either as *I have the letters which I have written* where the subjects of ‘tener’ and the participle are identified or as *I have the letters which someone else has written* where there is no identification of subjects. Furthermore, there is also an important difference concerning the relative ordering of the objective DP which also affects the identification of subjects. Although the word-order illustrated in (141) where the objective DP ‘las cartas’ (*the letters*) appears between ‘tener’ and the participle is possible, the more normal ordering is the one where this DP appears to the right of the agreeing participle. In (135) we find examples illustrating this point⁶¹.

Nevertheless, in section (5. 3) I will present another Modern Spanish ‘tener’ resultative construction which appears in complementary distribution with the participial ‘tener’ construction. In this type of resultative, the verb of possession appears in combination with perfective adjectives (in the sense of Bosque 1990) instead of participles. We will see that although this construction shares a number of properties with their ‘tener’ participial resultative counterparts, these two constructions are also differentiated in a number of ways. In section (5. 3. 5) we will see that one important difference between the participial resultative and the perfective adjective concerns precisely the ordering of the direct object DP. Additionally, just as for its Swedish counterpart illustrated in (140), this adjectival resultative construction is also characterised by non-identification of subjects. But most importantly, we will see that the adjectival resultative is less constrained than its participial counterpart. It will be in connection with these differences that I will present two different proposals for these two constructions. For the participial resultative I will propose that ‘tener’ enters in to a parasitic relation with the

⁶¹ However, in section (5. 3. 6) I will adopt Egerland’s (1998) assumption that all delimited predicates project an ASP(etc) node in the syntax.

internal and external arguments of the embedded participle. This type of relation I called Heavy Merger (Chapter III section 3. 3. 1) and we saw that this relation occurs at argument structure. Nevertheless, I will leave this issue aside for the moment and I will return to it in section (5. 3. 7). In contrast, for the adjectival resultative we will see that the relation between ‘*tener*’ and the objective DP is an instance of the licensing mechanism of Discharge (Speas 1990, discussed in Chapter III, sections 3. 2. 2 and 3. 3. 1). The perfective adjective is a secondary predicate which I will propose becomes linked to the direct object in some way in the syntax rather than at argument structure. However, I will defer the discussion of this issue until section (5. 3. 6).

In the following section I will first start with the characterisation of the participial ‘*tener*’ resultative. We will first see how this construction is highly constrained. In section (5. 2. 1) we will see how the ‘*tener*’ participial resultative is constrained semantically in terms of the aspectual type of verbs allowed in the construction. Secondly, in section (5. 2. 3) we will also see how these semantic constraints are mirrored syntactically by a strict transitivity requirement. Finally, in section (5. 2. 5) we will see how the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983, Levin and Rappaport 1995, *inter alia*.) holding on resultatives in general, is connected to this strict transitivity requirement⁶². Before I continue, I will first summarise what we have seen so far in this section.

5. 1. 4 Summary.

In this section I have presented the more general properties and issues surrounding the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ participial resultative. In the first instance, we have seen that in this construction the verb of possession combines with certain participles which display object agreement and that whether the objective DP has been extracted or not, this agreement is always present. Furthermore, the correlation with Romance Lexical perfective auxiliaries was made and I characterised ‘*tener*’ as a Lexical auxiliary. I returned to the issue concerning selectional restrictions. We have seen that for ‘*tener*’ the first selectional restriction is connected to the [+human] property of the subject. Additionally, I suggested to follow through the earlier proposal that this selectional restriction is also connected in some way to the argument acting as the objective DP (cf. Chapter IV, section 4. 2). We have seen how the periphrastic participial resultative construction has been featured in the generative literature. We have seen how in Lois (1989) it has been characterised as a

⁶² The Direct Object Restriction was discussed in Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 3).

causative construction. Furthermore, we have also seen it correlated with its Swedish counterpart in Egerland (1998). Nevertheless, from the fact that the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ construction could have both the identification and non-identification of subject interpretation, I rejected Egerland’s (1998) analysis of the resultative participle in the light of the classic passive participle analysis (Jaeggli 1986). Instead, I proposed a Heavy Merger analysis for the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ construction. In Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) I proposed that this mechanism involves the situation where the Lexical auxiliary enters into some sort of parasitic relation with the arguments belonging to the embedded predicate. For the participial resultative I proposed that this parasitic relation involves both the internal and the external argument. In the following section I concentrate on the latter in connection with the object DP and I provide more conclusive evidence of this fact through the type of constraints holding on the ‘*tener*’ resultative construction.

5. 2 Semantic and Syntactic Constraints of the Participial Resultative.

5. 2. 1 Aspectual Constraints.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 2) we have seen how in terms of a Vendler-Dowty aspectual typology (Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979), verbs in natural language can be classed as *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments* and *achievements*. We have also seen how these aspectual types can be grouped further according to the telic / atelic distinction or in other words, whether the inherent semantics of these predicates makes reference to termination points or not . According to this, states and activities form a natural class as atelic verbs and accomplishments and achievements can be classed as telic. This contrast is mirrored further by the type of adverbials these predicates can be modified by. Statives and activities are liable to be modified by durative adverbials (like *for years*) and accomplishments and achievements by frame adverbials (such as *in an hour*) and point adverbials (such as *at noon*). This contrast was illustrated in examples (111) for the stative and activity verbs *love* and *run* and in (112) for the accomplishment and achievement verbs *build* and *die* which I repeat below for convenience:

- (142) a. Mary loved Peter for years.
b. The children run for hours.

- (143) a. Peter built a house in three months.

- b. Rupert the rabbit died at noon.

In applying the above aspectual classification to the ‘*tener*’ participial construction, in the first instance we find that most statives are excluded from this type of construction. This I illustrate in (144) where we see how a stative psychological predicate such as ‘*amar*’ (*to love*) and a verb of cognition such as ‘*conocer*’ (*to know*) are ungrammatical.

- (144) a. * *María tiene amados a tres hombres.*
 María have-3.sg love-part.masc.pl to three men-pl
 María has three men loved.
- b. * *Tiene conocidos cinco libros.*
 Have-3.sg know-part.masc.pl five book-masc.pl
 He/She has five books known.

In this respect the Modern Spanish resultative follows a more general constraint holding on resultatives in general. It is commonly mentioned that stative verbs are always excluded from becoming hosts of a resultative predicate (Hoekstra 1988, 1992, Rapoport 1993 and Levin and Rappaport 1995, *inter alia*). This I illustrate below from the English type of construction mentioned briefly in Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 1):

- (145) a. * *This encyclopaedist knows all books superfluous.*
 b. * *The rejected lover hated his girlfriend dead.*
 c. * *Medusa saw the hero into stone.*
 d. * *I heard the song boring.*
 e. * *I saw myself blind.*

Verbs of cognition such as *know*, psychological verbs such as *love*, *hate* and verbs of perception such as *see*, *hear* are generally classed as statives and from (144) and (145) we see that they are disallowed both in the English and the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ resultative ⁶³.

Another aspectual type excluded from the ‘*tener*’ participial resultative is the class of achievements. This I illustrate below for the verbs ‘*llegar*’ (*to arrive*) and

⁶³ In Chapter IV (4. 5. 6) we have seen that verbs of perception and condition are possible in the ‘*tener*’ construction if these appear with their propositional rather than DP complements. However, we saw that in this configuration the interpretation is close to a perfective and not a resultative.

'alcanzar' (*reach*) where we see how these are ungrammatical in the context of 'tener'.

- (146) a. * Tengo llegados los paquetes.

Have-1.sg arrive-part.masc.pl the-masc.pl summit-masc.pl.

I have the parcels arrived.

- b. * Tengo alcanzada la cima de la montaña.

Have-1.sg reach-part.fem.sg the-fem.sg summit-femsg of the-fem.sg mountain-fem.sg.

I have the summit of the mountain reached.

(146a) can be excluded on two grounds. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 4) *arrive* was one of the verbs categorised as unaccusatives with the meaning component of inherently directed motion (Levin and Rappaport 1992). The first reason is connected to the fact 'llegar' (*to arrive*) is an unaccusative verb and this type of verb is excluded on the grounds that as we will see in more detail in section (5. 2. 3) the 'tener' participial construction is only allowed in the context of transitive verbs. Furthermore, (146a) can also be excluded because the 'tener' resultative construction in general, is characterised strictly as a 'change of state' resultative⁶⁴ and this excludes verbs of movement.

Secondly, a verb like 'alcanzar' (*reach*) can be excluded on the grounds that the 'tener' participial resultative follows a more general constraint that has been associated with resultatives. This constraint is related to the fact that only non inherently telic (or bounded) activities are allowed as hosts of the resultative predicates. This explanation has been connected in the literature to the the notion of compositional aspect presented in Chapter IV (section 4. 5 3). There we saw how activity verbs could be turned into accomplishments and vice-versa by choosing the right type of DP (i.e., quantized or cumulative) or adjunct. Bearing on the latter, in Pustejovsky (1991) the result predicate is then interpreted a functor which turns an activity (an unbounded atelic situation) into an accomplishment (a bounded telic situation)⁶⁵. Therefore, under the perspective of compositional aspect the ungrammaticality of (147) can be easily explained, because according to Hoekstra (1992) a verb such as *kill* already implies an inherent termination point and cannot be

⁶⁴ Here I have taken this term from the distinction between 'change of state' and 'change of location' resultatives of Tortora (1998).

⁶⁵ However, here Pustejovsky uses the cover term "transition" which subsumes both Vendler's (1967) accomplishments and achievements.

delimited further (ex. from Hoekstra 1992: 156).

- (147) *The psychopath killed the village into a ghost town.

However, it is not very clear whether the example provided in Hoekstra (1992) is a good one. Below I provide a possible example of resultative involving the verb *kill* (example from TV add).

- (148) Domestos kills all germs dead.

This can be explained if we reinterpret the notion of what constitutes a delimiter for the resultative. As mentioned in Tortora (1998: 342), the English type of resultative allows inherently bounded verbs as hosts as long as the resultative phrase “serves to further specify the endpoint that is entailed by the verb’s meaning”. This I illustrate below for a verb such as *break*⁶⁶.

- (149) The bottle broke open.

Both *dead* and *open* count as resultative phrases which further specify the endpoint of the activity denoted by the verbs and this can explain why these are allowed in the context of *kill* and *break* respectively.

However, the ‘*tener*’ resultative seems to be much more constrained than its Germanic counterpart in that these inherently bounded activities are not allowed in the construction, as I illustrate again in (150) for the verb ‘*matar*’ (*to kill*).

- (150) *Jack el Destripador tiene matadas a varias mujeres.
Jacke the-masc.sg Ripper-sg have-3.sg kill-part.fem.pl to several-fem.pl
women-pl
Jack the Ripper has several women killed .

Additionally, verbs like ‘*matar*’ (*to kill*) are disallowed even if we add some element in order to specify the endpoint of the activity in the manner proposed by Tortora (1998), as illustrated below:

- (151) * Jack el Destripador tiene matadas a varias mujeres muertas.
Jacke the-masc.sg Ripper-sg have-3.sg kill-part.fem.pl to several-fem.pl
women-pl dead-fem.pl
Jack the Ripper has several women killed dead .

⁶⁶ Example from Levin and Rappaport (1995) quoted in Tortora (1998).

However, I will exclude inherently bounded verbs like ‘*matar*’ (*to kill*) or ‘*alcanzar*’ (*reach*) in relation to the characteristics of their objects rather than alone on the fact that they denote inherently bounded activities. More specifically, I will exclude the verbs above in relation to the fact that these have delimited objects from the point of view of aspectual composition. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 3) we saw that from the point of view of aspectual composition a delimited object is one which does not affect the aspectual type of the verb involved. This means that whether this DP is a quantified DP (definite or quantified) or cumulative DP (mass or bare plural), the meaning of the verb is always inherently bounded or inherently telic. This then takes us to the verbs that are definitely allowed in the context of ‘*tener*’ participial resultative. In (135) in section (5. 1. 1) I have already illustrated the fact that activity verbs such as ‘*escribir*’ (*to write*) or ‘*pintar*’ (*to paint*) are possible candidates in the construction and this is because they can be characterised as non-inherently bounded. Nevertheless, also other non-inherently bounded accomplishments are also possible. This I illustrate below for the accomplishment verb ‘*construir*’ (*to build*).

- (152) *Petra tiene construidas cinco casas.*
 Petra have-3.sg build-part.fem.pl five hours-fem.pl
 Petra has five houses built.

Furthermore, what these activity and accomplishment verbs have in common is the fact that they have delimiting internal arguments in terms of aspectual composition. In section (4. 5. 3) of Chapter IV a delimiting DP was characterised as one that can change the aspectual value of the verb. This we saw applied mainly to non-inherently bounded activities and accomplishments.

Therefore, the inability of a verb such as ‘*matar*’ (*to kill*) to appear in the context of the ‘*tener*’ construction receives a reasonable explanation if we assume that the property which is involved here and which seems to constrain this construction is connected to how these objective DPs are involved in the phenomenon of compositional aspect. A verb like *kill* is then excluded under the refinement that this verb has a delimited internal argument rather than under non-inherently bounded verb constraint proposed by Hoekstra (1992). In section (5. 3. 4) below, we will see how the adjectival resultative is less constrained than its participial counterpart and we will see how some of these inherently bounded verbs are allowed in this context. However, in continuing with the matter at hand, this contrast between delimited and delimiting objective DPs then also explains why verbs like ‘*escribir*’ (*to write*) in (135a) and ‘*pintar*’ (*to paint*) in (135b) and ‘*construir*’ (*to build*) in (152) are

allowed in the 'tener' participial construction. Namely, it is these verbs which have objective DPs for delimiting purposes. In section (5. 2. 5) we will see how this delimiting object is constrained further in terms of specificity.

Meanwhile, to conclude, we can now characterise the Modern Spanish participial periphrastic construction as a change of state resultative which requires a delimiting object. In the following section we will see how in addition to requiring a delimiting object this also has to be an affected one (in the sense of Anderson 1978).

5. 2. 2 The Affectedness Constraint.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 3) I mentioned that only verbs which have "affected" internal arguments are allowed in the context of resultatives. An affected argument (in the sense of Anderson 1978) we have seen, is interpreted as one which has undergone some change. We have seen that the testing ground for affected arguments is middle formation (cf. examples in 84). Middle formation in Modern Spanish, as well as the promotion of the object to the subject position, also involves the presence of impersonal 'se'. Below we see how verbs such as 'leer' (*to read*) or 'pintar' (*to paint*) which are allowed in the Modern Spanish 'tener' participial resultative construction also have to have affected arguments.

- (153) a. Este libro se lee con facilidad.
 This-masc.sg book-masc.sg **se** read-3.sg with ease.
 This book reads easily.
- b. Esta pared se pinta con facilidad.
 This-fem.sg wall-sg **se** paint-3.sg with ease.
 This wall paints easily.

Furthermore, in addition to requiring an affected argument this specifically involves a semantically object-oriented one. In the same section of Chapter IV, we have seen how resultative predication is excluded with the subject-oriented *fear*-class and possible only with the object-oriented *frighten*-class of psychological predicates (cf. examples 86a and 86b). Hence, in applying this contrast among psychological predicates to the Modern Spanish periphrastic resultatives, we would expect that

only the *frighten*-class is possible in this configuration. From the ungrammaticality of (154a) where ‘*tener*’ appears together with ‘*temida*’ (*feared*) and the grammaticality of (154b) where it appears in the context of ‘*asustada*’ (*frightened*), we see that this expectation is borne out .

- (154) a. * Robin tiene temida a su madre.
 Robin have-3.sg fear-part.fem.sg to his mother.
 Robin has his mother feared .
- b. Robin tiene asustada a su madre.
 Robin have-3.sg frighten-part.fem.sg to his mother.
 Robin has his mother frightened .

Therefore, for the moment from the above two sections we can conclude that the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ participial construction requires the presence of a verb which has a delimiting object-oriented affected internal argument. This is a very strong constraint of the ‘*tener*’ participial construction which I will propose in section (5. 2. 5) below to be the particular instantiation of the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983, Rappaport and Levin 1989, Levin and Rappaport 1995, inter alia.) of this periphrastic resultative construction. Furthermore, the fact that this object orientedness is a strong feature of this periphrastic resultative can be supported further from the syntax. In the following sections, we will see how the ‘*tener*’ construction is constrained syntactically by a strong transitivity feature.

5. 2. 3 Syntactic Constraints: Transitives.

The most important syntactic constraint of the Modern Spanish participial resultative is that in this configuration ‘*tener*’ only combines with transitive participles. This I have already illustrated for the transitive verbs ‘*escribir*’ (*to write*) and ‘*pintar*’ (*to paint*) in (135a) and (135b) in the introductory section of this chapter.

In contrast, intransitives in general are ungrammatical in the ‘*tener*’ participial resultative, but there are some that are allowed. In this connection I will appeal to the unaccusative/unergative distinction (Perlmutter 1978 and Burzio (1981, 1986) which we have seen is connected to the Unaccusative Hypothesis discussed in great detail in the previous chapter. We have seen that an important feature distinguishing

these two types of intransitives is the status of the arguments functioning as subjects. The subject of an unaccusative is an underlying internal argument and the subject of an unergative is an external argument. In what follows we will see how this distinction among intransitives applies to the ‘*tener*’ construction and we will see how some unergatives and some unaccusatives are allowed and what unites these is that the representatives of each group has transitive counterparts which have delimiting objective DPs. We will see how the ‘*tener*’ participial construction always singles out the transitive counterparts. In the following section I will first look at unergatives and in section (5. 2. 5), I will turn to unaccusatives.

5. 2. 4 Syntactic Constraints: Unergatives.

In the first instance, most unergatives are disallowed to appear in the context of the participial ‘*tener*’ construction, even on the assumption that that these intransitives are covertly transitive (cf. Chapter IV, section 4. 4. 1). This ungrammaticality I illustrate below in (155a) with an unergative verb such as ‘*reir*’ (*to laugh*) and in (155b) where the same verb is used as a transitive by adding the cognate object ‘*muchas risas*’ (*many laughs*).

- (155) a. * Tengo reido.
 Have-1.sg laugh-masc.sg
- b. * Tengo reidas muchas risas.
 Have-1.sg laugh-part.fem.pl many-fem.pl laughs-fem.pl.

Furthermore, in Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 3) we have seen how unergatives are allowed in the context of the English type of resultative if a fake-reflexive or dummy-object is present. This was illustrated in example (83), which has been repeated below for convenience. However, the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ participial resultative does not appear to allow this insertion of a fake-reflexive. This I illustrate below from the ungrammaticality of (156b) where the reflexive pronoun ‘*se*’ has been added to the unergative participle ‘*reidos*’ (*laughed*) in the function of a dummy object.

- (156) a. The children laughed *themselves* into a frenzy.
- b. * Los niños *se* tienen reídos.
- The-masc.pl child-masc.pl SE-reflex.cl.3.pl have-3.pl laugh-masc.pl

From the contrast in the context of dummy reflexive objects, between the English and the periphrastic ‘*tener*’ resultative we can see now that the objective DPs of the respective constructions are somewhat different. Additionally, this seems to be in line with the suggestion made above that the Modern Spanish resultative is more restricted than its English counterpart. We have already seen a similar pattern in section (5. 2. 1) in connection with the delimited / delimiting DP feature. The English type allows a delimited DP and the ‘*tener*’ participial construction only allows delimiting ones. This was the reason for excluding verbs like ‘*matar*’ (*to kill*) from the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ construction (cf. example 150) which in turn, were allowed in the English resultative (cf. example 148). For an unergative verb such as ‘*reír*’ (*to laugh*) in (155b) and (156b) we can make a similar correlation. Namely, although it is not the case that this unergative denotes an inherently bounded event, it is certainly the case that the cognate object ‘*muchas risas*’ (*many laughs*) in (155b) and the fake-reflexive ‘*se*’ in (156b) are not delimiting objects. However, I will return to these fake-reflexives in section (5. 2. 6) and I will provide an additional explanation for their exclusion. Nevertheless, the conclusion that the participial ‘*tener*’ construction only allows delimiting DP objects is important, because it will then explain why the combination of ‘*tener*’ with certain pseudo-transitives is possible.

These pseudo-transitives are basically transitive verbs which can be used intransitively. In this latter use these verbs are generally classed together with unergatives. This group of unergatives includes verbs of consumption like *eat* or *drink* and although these have been said to have an “unspecified object”, it is the case that this object can be a delimiting one. I illustrate this below in (157b) for *eat* appearing in combination with the delimiting quantized DP *five cakes*.

- (157) a. I ate cake for hours.
- b. I ate five cakes in an hour.

Furthermore, if we assume that verbs of consumption have delimiting objective DPs and under the auspices that the Modern Spanish resultative is constrained by only

allowing verbs with delimiting objective DPs, we would expect that these specified-object unergatives are able to appear in the context of the participial resultative. As we see below from the grammaticality of (158) where ‘*tener*’ appears in combination with ‘*comer*’ (*to eat*) and the quantized objective DP ‘*cinco paellas*’ (*five paellas*), this expectation is borne out ⁶⁷.

- (158) Tengo comidas cinco paellas.
 Have-1.sg eat-part.fem.sg five paellas-fem.sg.
 I have five paellas eaten.

Furthermore, the contrast between cognate object (example 155) and unspecified object (example 158) unergatives can be supported further from the Affectedness Constraint holding on resultatives mentioned in the previous section (and in Chapter IV, section 4. 2. 3). Namely, it is commonly assumed that verbs of consumption such as *eat* or *drink* (in 158), as opposed to other unergatives such as *laugh* or *dream* have objects which undergo some sort of change. In other words, these verbs have affected objects (in the sense of Anderson 1978). However, as we will see in the following section where I will be dealing with unaccusatives, this affectedness constraint does not apply to all verbs with affected objects (or internal arguments in the case of unaccusatives).

5. 2. 5 Syntactic Constraints: Unaccusatives.

Throughout Chapter IV, I have mentioned repeatedly that unaccusative intransitives fall within three major semantic classes: states, verbs of movement and change of state. In what follows we will see how, apart from a small minority of verbs which have transitive counterparts, most of these unaccusative verbs are excluded from the ‘*tener*’ participial resultative.

In the first instance stative unaccusatives are excluded on aspectual grounds. In section (5. 2. 1) we have seen how the Modern Spanish periphrastic resultative follows the more general constraint of this type of construction in disallowing stative verbs. This we have seen includes transitives such as ‘*amar*’ (*to love*) or ‘*conocer*’ (*to know*) illustrated in the ungrammatical examples in (144a) and (144b) respectively. Furthermore, from the ungrammaticality of (159) below where ‘*tener*’

⁶⁷ However, here we have to note that the ‘*tener*’ construction is subject to dialectal variation, especially when appearing in combination with these verb of consumption participles. On this issue see Harre (1991).

combines with an unaccusative dynamic stative such as '*estar*' (*contingent be*), we will also discover that this restriction on statives also applies to unaccusatives.

- (159) Tengo estado en la playa.
Have-1.sg be-part.masc.sg in the-fem.sg beach-fem.sg.

In connection with verbs of movement in section (5. 2. 1), I mentioned briefly that these verbs are totally disallowed from the '*tener*' construction under the assumption that this periphrastic structure is strictly a change of state resultative. In (146a) this was illustrated with a verb such as '*llegar*' (*arrive*) belonging to the class of inherently directed motion verbs of Levin and Rappaport (1992). And now from (160) below we see that a verb such as '*mover*' (*move*) belonging to the second class of verbs of movement (i.e. *roll*-class) and categorised by the meaning component of manner of motion, is also disallowed:⁶⁸ .

- (160) * Tengo movido el paquete.
Have-1.sg move-part.masc.sg the-masc.sg parcel-masc.sg

Nevertheless, there is one class of unaccusatives which is allowed in the '*tener*' periphrastic resultative. The class I am referring to, is the one represented by change of state verbs such as *to melt*, *to freeze*, *to break* involved in causative / anticausative alternations discussed briefly in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 1) and these I illustrate in the context of '*tener*' below for the participles '*congelada*' (*frozen*) and '*rota*' (*broken*):

- (161) a. Tengo congelada la carne.
Have-1.sg freeze-part.fem.sg the-fem.sg meat-sg.
I have the meat frozen.
- b. Tengo rota la silla.
Have-1.sg broken-part.fem.sg the-fem.sg chair-fem.sg.
I have the chair broken.

However, not all change of state unaccusatives are allowed. Namely, as I illustrate below the verbs that are excluded are the ones of the '*nacido*' (*borne*) type.

⁶⁸ This distinction was discussed in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 4) in connection with Levin and Rappaport (1992, 1995).

- (162) a. * Tengo nacida a mi hija.
 Have-1.sg be-borne-part.fem.sg to mysg daughter-fe.sg.

The question arising now, is why are the change of state verbs of the *freeze* type in (161) allowed and the ones in (162) not. The answer is a straightforward one which again is connected to the fact that the ‘*tener*’ construction is constrained by a strict transitivity requirement. Namely, what causative /anticausative unaccusatives have in common with the transitives ‘*escribir*’ (*to write*) and ‘*pintar*’ (*to paint*), is that they all can have an accusative object. In the context of these causatives what the ‘*tener*’ construction is using, is nothing other than the transitive (accusative) form of these verbs. Therefore, from the above, it is possible to conclude that what the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ resultative does, is to single out verbs which specifically have affected delimiting accusative objects rather than just internal arguments (as for unaccusatives).

As consequence, from the latter we can also conclude that in contrast to the English type of resultative (cf. example 164) which has often been describe by linguists⁶⁹ as an unaccusative diagnostic, the Modern Spanish participial resultative cannot be categorised as such. In the previous chapter (section 4. 5. 1) we saw that what an unaccusative diagnostic does, is to single out verbs which have internal arguments. However, this singling out of internal arguments can be characterised as a broad phenomenon. As we saw in Chapter IV (section 4. 5) the internal arguments of unaccusatives vary, especially when interpreted in connection with how the internal arguments are involved in the phenomenon of aspectual composition. In relation to the latter we saw that the internal arguments of unaccusatives can be scaled according to whether their internal argument was delimited, delimiting or non-delimiting. Below I repeat the scale of unaccusative verbs in terms of the properties of their internal arguments for convenience (from page 100).

change of state	> delimited internal argument
arrive-class of movement	> delimited internal argument
roll-class of movement	> delimiting internal argument
run-class of movement	> delimiting internal argument
stative	> non-delimiting internal argument

Nevertheless, what we have seen so far in connection with the ‘*tener*’ periphrastic resultative is that this construction is much more restricted than its English / Germanic counterpart which serves a an unaccusativity diagnostic. It only singles

⁶⁹ For instance, this is the case in Levin and Rappaport (1992, 1995).

out a very restricted number of verbs: that is, verbs with transitive counterparts which not only have an internal argument (as unaccusatives), but where this internal argument has to be a direct object DP which is both delimiting and is connected to accusative case. Therefore, because the ‘*tener*’ construction is restricted in such a way, it cannot be considered as an unaccusative diagnostic in Modern Spanish. However, in section (5. 3. 4) we will see how other change of state verbs which we have just seen have to appear in their accusative form in the participial resultative, are able to occur in their unaccusative form as perfective adjectives. It could be possible to describe this later context as an unaccusative diagnostic in Spanish. Meanwhile, in the following section we will see how this direct object of the ‘*tener*’ periphrastic resultative is constrained further in terms of specificity. Additionally, we will also see what the particular manifestation of the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983, Rappaport and Levin 1989, Levin and Rappaport 1995) is related to in this construction.

5. 2. 6 The Direct Object Restriction and the Quantized Specific DP Constraint.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 3) we have seen that an important characteristic of resultatives in general is that these are subject to the Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983, Rappaport and Levin 1989, Levin and Rappaport 1995). This restriction we saw was related to the fact that resultative predication was possible only for direct objects and never allowed for subjects and obliques. For the English (or Germanic) type of resultative, we have seen in section (5. 2. 4) that an important manifestation of this Direct Object Restriction is the insertion of a fake-reflexive with unergatives. We have seen elsewhere in this thesis that this particular type of intransitives are the ones categorised as cognate object unergatives which includes verbs such as *laugh* or *sleep*. In section (5. 2. 4) we have seen how this particular type of unergatives is disallowed from the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ resultative even if the reflexive pronoun ‘*se*’ is added in the function of a dummy object. Although I did not mention it then, I will now provide an explanation for the latter in connection with two issues which appear to be interrelated. The first issue is connected to the fact that the reflexive pronoun ‘*se*’ is often described in traditional grammars as a dative pronoun. Therefore, it is possible to speculate that since in this ‘*tener*’ construction what is singled out is an accusative object, a dative reflexive is excluded for this reason. However, this does not mean that the Direct Object Restriction does

not apply to the 'tener' participial resultative. Namely, as mentioned in Chapter IV (4. 2. 3) Modern Spanish participial resultative shares with its English (Germanic) counterparts, the fact that the direct object is obligatory. I illustrated this fact with example (87) which I have repeated below for convenience.

- (163) a. Tengo escritos cinco libros.
Have-1.sg write-part.masc.pl five book-masc.pl.
I have five books written.
- b. * Tengo escritos.

Nevertheless, the Direct Object Restriction appears to be much more restricted than can generally be claimed for resultatives in general. Bearing on the latter, in Chapter IV (section 4. 1. 2) it was mentioned that for Germanic languages the resultative predication structures can be based on transitives and intransitives. Below I repeat the examples I provided there (examples in 73 and 74):

(164) Transitive:

- a. The gardener watered the tulips *flat*.
b. The grocer ground the coffee beans *(in)to a fine powder*.
c. They painted their house *a hideous shade of green*.

(165) Intransitive:

- a. The joggers ran their Nikes *threadbare*.
b. The kids laughed themselves *into a frenzy*.
c. He sneezed his handkerchief *completely soggy*.

The most interesting contrast between the 'tener' participial resultative and the English ones provided in (165) concerns the ones based on intransitives. (165a) belongs to the *run*-class of verbs of movement of Levin and Rappaport (1992). In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 4) we saw how these are the ones which can become unaccusatives under certain conditions. *Laugh* in (165b) and *sneeze* in (165c) are unergatives. We saw that these verbs illustrated in (165) were precisely the ones excluded from the 'tener' resultative construction. In sections (5. 2. 4) we saw that the only unergatives allowed were specified object intransitives which had to be used in their transitive form. Additionally, in section (5. 2. 5) we saw how among unaccusatives, all verbs of movement and statives were disallowed. The only type allowed were the ones involved in causative/anticausative alternations such as

'congelar' (*freeze*) or 'romper' (*break*). These we saw also had to appear in their transitive form. Therefore, from the latter we can conclude that the periphrastic resultative involved in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives is much more restricted than their English type of resultative illustrated above. Below (in section 5.3.2) we will see how these resultatives are generally categorised under the rubric of secondary predication structures (Napoli 1993, Rapoport 1993). I will use the fact that the 'tener' construction appears to be much more restricted than the resultatives above, to argue against a secondary predication approach for this construction. I will leave this issue aside for now and I will characterise further the object DP in terms of the last property characterising it which is specificity. In relation to the latter, the 'tener' participial resultative appears to be constrained further in that it only allows quantized DPs (definite and quantified) and their cumulative (mass and bare plural) counterparts are disallowed. This I illustrate in (166) where the participle 'escritos' (*written*) appears in combination with the quantified DP 'cinco libros' (*five books*), the bare plural 'libros' (*books*) and in (166c) where the participle 'comido' (*eaten*) combines with the mass noun 'el jamón' (*the ham*) :

- (166) a. Tengo escritos cinco libros.
 Have-1.sg write-part.masc.pl five book-masc.pl
 I have five books written.
- b. * Tengo escritos libros.
 Have-1.sg write-part.masc.pl book-masc.pl
 I have books written.
- c. * Tengo comido el jamón.
 Have-1.sg eat-part.masc.sg the-masc.sg ham-sg
 I have the ham eaten.

From (166b) and (166c) we see that the 'tener' construction disallows both bare plurals such as 'libros' (*books*) and mass nouns such as 'el jamón' (*the ham*) and only allows quantized DPs such as 'cinco libros' (*five books*). I will call this the Quantized Specific DP Constraint and this takes us to the next issue which is why is the objective DP of the 'tener' construction constrained in such a way. One explanation for the Quantized Specific DP Constraint could be in terms of the often

mentioned connection between accusative case assignment and specificity (Eng 1991). In section (5. 2. 5) I concluded that the participial resultative singles out direct objects which are primarily connected to accusative case and the specific nature of this object could be explained through this fact. However, I will also try a different explanation. I propose that the reason why the objective DP of the ‘tener’ participial resultative is constrained in the strict way we have seen above, is because this object is in fact, an argument of both ‘tener’ and the relevant participles. The evidence suggesting this type of proposal is related precisely to the above Quantized Specific DP Constraint which according to what was said above, excludes non-specific mass noun and bare plural DPs. Now, if both ‘tener’ and the participles appear in isolation, these do certainly allow the presence of these cumulative DPs. Below I first illustrate this for ‘tener’ and the mass noun objective DP ‘la sal’ (*the salt*).

- (167) Tengo la sal.
 Have-1.sg the-fem.sg salt-sg
 I have the salt.

Where participles are concerned, the construction where these appear in isolation is, in the context of participial absolutes. This construction is described in great detail in Marín Gálvez (1996). I will briefly describe these in connection with the features relevant to the ‘tener’ resultative described above. In the work of Marín Gálvez (1996), participial absolutes are described to follow similar aspectual constraints in disallowing statives (as in 168a) and allowing activities and accomplishments (as in 168b). However, these are less restricted semantically in that they also allow the formation of participial absolutes with achievement verbs such as ‘llegados’ (*arrived*) (as in 168c) which we saw were excluded from the ‘tener’ resultative (section 5. 2. 1).

- (168) a. * Amados los niños, ...
 Love-part.masc.pl the-masc.pl children-masc.pl
 With the children loved, ...
- b. Comidas las paellas, ...
 Eat-part.fem.pl the-fem.pl paellas-fem.pl
 With the paellas eaten, ...

- c. Llegados los invitados ...
 Arrive-part.masc.pl the-masc.pl guests-masc.pl
 With the guests arrived, ...

Furthermore, from (168c) above we see that when the participle appears in isolation in the context of the participial absolute it is less restricted syntactically in that it allows unaccusatives such as '*llegados*' (*arrived*). In section (5. 4. 5) we saw how these unaccusatives without transitive counterparts were excluded from the '*tener*' participial resultative. Furthermore, unergatives of the cognate object type such as *sleep* (mentioned in section 5. 2. 4) and which we saw were disallowed in the '*tener*' participial construction, are allowed as participial absolutes as I illustrate below with '*dormido*' (*asleep*).

- (169) Dormido el niño ...
 Love-part.masc.sg the-masc.sg children-masc.sg
 With the child asleep, ...

Finally, the most important feature characterising these participial absolutes is that the DP functioning as an internal argument can be a mass noun (example from Marín Gálvez 1996: 44). As we have seen earlier in (166c), this is one type of DP which is disallowed from the '*tener*' participial construction.

- (170) Comido el jamón, ...
 Eat-part.masc.sg the-masc.sg ham-masc.sg
 With the ham eaten, ...

From what we have seen so far, the participles occurring in isolation in the participial absolute construction appear to be less constrained than the ones appearing in the context of the '*tener*' participial resultative. This, therefore, seems to suggest that the proposal, that the objective DP is in fact an argument belonging to both '*tener*' and the participle, seems reasonable. Nevertheless, the most striking piece of evidence pointing in this direction was the fact that as illustrated in (170), the participial absolute does allow the presence of a cumulative mass noun DP. This we saw was an important difference between the '*tener*' participial construction and the participial absolute.

I will therefore, characterise this situation where the objective DP appears to be an argument belonging to both '*tener*' and the participles in the light of the situation

where predicates or verbs enter into parasitic relations with one another. This relation I called Heavy Merger and we saw that this involves a parasitic relation between arguments at argument structure. However, before I characterise this relation further in the following section I will present a different environment where ‘*tener*’ appears in the context of perfective adjectives (Bosque 1990) in the formation of adjectival resultatives. We will see how in this construction these perfective adjectives are secondary predicates which link to the direct object in the syntax. Additionally, we will see that although these adjectival resultatives follow a similar pattern to their participial counterparts, these are less constrained than the latter. Finally, in the light of the latter, in section (3. 3. 6) I will ask whether it is possible to unify adjectival and participial resultatives under an analysis in terms of secondary predication structures.

5. 2. 7 Summary.

In this section I have examined the constraints holding on the Modern Spanish ‘*tener*’ participial resultative. We have seen that the lexical constraints are both semantic and syntactic in nature and that these interact and in some way, follow from each other. In the first instance, we have seen how syntactically there is a strong transitivity requirement in that only transitive verbs are allowed. This extends to the specified object unergatives and the causative transitives which in the ‘*tener*’ construction have to appear in their transitive accusative form. This syntactic transitivity is mirrored semantically in that the aspectual types of verbs allowed in the construction are the ones requiring a delimiting objective DP. I have taken a strict view of what is meant by delimiting DP in that the alternation between quantized and cumulative is only aspectually significant for accomplishments and activities. This strict view, then, excludes stative and achievement verbs from the equation, because as we have seen in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 3) these aspectual types are not affected by the referential properties of their objective DP. Furthermore, in addition of a delimiting DP this ‘*tener*’ construction requires that this DP is an affected one. This I called the Specific DP Constraint. It was proposed that the direct object DP is constrained in such a way, because it is an argument of both the participles and ‘*tener*’. This situation I characterised in Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) as involving the discharge mechanism of Heavy Merger and will be discussed in more detail in section (5. 3. 7) below.

5.3 Participial and Adjectival Resultatives.

5.3.1 'Tener' with Perfective Adjectives.

Apart from the agreeing participles presented in the previous sections, 'tener' also combines with certain adjectives such as 'limpio' (*clean*) and 'lleno' (*full*) which we find illustrated below :

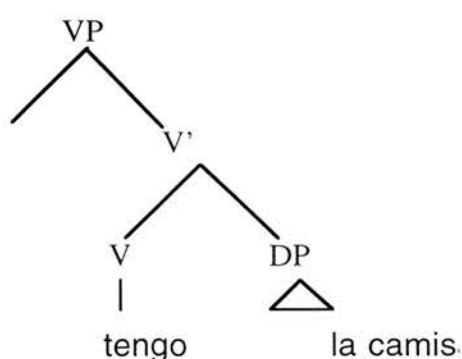
- (171) a. Tengo el pelo limpio.
Have-1.sg the-masc.sg clean-masc.sg.
I have the hair clean.
- b. Tengo los cubos llenos.
Have-1.sg the-masc.pl bucket-masc.pl full-masc.pl.
I have the buckets full.

Adjectives of the type in (171) have been described extensively in Bosque (1990) and are called perfective adjectives. Other adjectives included in this group are 'seco' (*dry*), 'suelto' (*loose*), 'oculto' (*hidden*), 'disperso' (*scattered*), 'tenso' (*tense*), 'sujeto' (*held*), 'vacío' (*empty*). In this work, these adjectives refer to a state obtained as the result of a previous action and therefore, are related to the participles described above semantically, in the sense that these refer to a state which is the result of a past action. In other words, these perfective adjectives are in fact, resultative adjectives. In section (5.3.4) we will see how there is also a derivational morphological relation between perfective adjectives and participles. However, for the moment I will mention that what we have in (171) above, is basically another form the 'tener' resultative which is formed with adjectives instead of participles. Nonetheless, in what follows we will see how this type of resultative differs from its participial counterpart in a number of ways.

One of the most important differences concerns the status of 'tener'. In section (5.1.1) we have seen how 'tener' in participial resultatives was categorised as a Lexical auxiliary. Nevertheless, in this adjectival resultative, 'tener' is often categorised in grammars of the traditional type as a main verb (Mattoso Camara 1972, Gómez Torrego 1988, Penny 1991). Furthermore, this Lexical auxiliary and main verb contrast seems to affect the relation between 'tener', the direct objects and its accompanying predicates (adjectives or participles) which in turn, will

suggest differentiated analyses for both constructions. I will characterise this in terms of a difference in constituency (discussed in sections 5. 3. 6 and 5. 3. 7 below). Bearing on the latter, in section (5. 2. 6) above I proposed that the direct objective DP found in the participial resultative is in fact an argument of both ‘tener’ and the relevant participles and the result is a semantically composite argument. The main piece of evidence pointing in this direction is the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. In section (5. 3. 7) below I will characterise this as an instance of Heavy Merger which takes place at argument structure and in the syntax I will characterise the ‘tener’ + participle complex as a complex predicator which assigns a composite thematic role to the objective DP. In contrast, as we will see below (section 5. 3. 5), the objective DP found in adjectival resultatives is not a semantically composite argument. Instead, this objective DP is an argument of ‘tener’ and the perfective adjective modifies it. Therefore, in section (5. 3. 6) I will characterise this relation between ‘tener’ and its objective DP in the light of the licensing mechanism of Discharge (in the sense of Speas 1990) discussed in Chapter III (section 3. 2. 2). There we saw that this licensing mechanism embodies the relationship between a head and its satellites. The archetypal example of this relation is the one represented by complementation relations. In this context of adjectival resultatives, Discharge involves ‘tener’ and its objective DP as I illustrate below for the string ‘tengo la camisa’ (*I have the shirt*):

(172)



However, the complementation structure in (172) does not tell us how this structure would accommodate the perfective adjective. In what follows I will provide evidence suggesting that these perfective adjectives are secondary predicators which project in the syntax as Small Clauses. I will deal with this issue in more detail in section (5. 3.

6) below. For the moment, however, I will advance that in providing differentiated analyses for adjectival and participial resultatives I follow the Spanish linguistic tradition where it has been suggested that these constructions should be treated separately (Gómez Torrego 1988). One important criterion for this separate treatment, is precisely the categorial distinction between these two parts of speech. However, in sections (5. 3. 2) and (5. 3. 3) we will see that perfective adjectives and participles share a number of similarities which could suggest a unified account. Nonetheless, the evidence presented to differentiate these constructions will be so conclusive that I will follow the traditional separate treatment between adjectival and participial resultatives in the manner expounded above. Before I continue with this issue, I will first present some similarities shared by these two types of resultatives which will suggest that these structures form part of the same resultative paradigm.

5. 3. 2 Participles and Perfective Adjectives: General Distributional Similarities.

In section (5. 2. 6) we saw how participles were able to appear in the context of participial absolutes. According to Bosque (1990) it is also possible to see perfective adjectives in this context. Below I illustrate this distributional similarity in the context of participial absolutes for the perfective adjective ‘seco’ (*dry*) and the participle ‘leído’ (*read*):

- (173) a. Seco el pelo, Pedro se marchó.
 Dry the-masc.sg hair-masc.sg, Pedro **se** leave-pret.3.sg.
 With his hair dirty, Pedro left.
- b. Leído el libro, Pedro se marchó.
 Read the-masc.sg book-masc.sg, Pedro **se** leave-pret.3.sg.
 With the book read, Pedro left.

Furthermore, both perfective adjectives and participles can be graded by the adverbial ‘completamente’ or ‘del todo’ (*completely*) as I illustrate in (174):

- (174) a. Un libro (completamente) leído (del todo).
 A-masc.sg book-masc.sg (completely) read-part.masc.sg (of-the-masc.sg all).
 A completely read book.

- b. Una camisa (completamente) seca (del todo).
 A-fem..sg shirt-fem.sg (completely) dry-part.fem..sg (of-the-masc.sg all).
 a completely dry shirt.

They also allow intensifying ‘muy’ (*very*) as opposed to distributive ‘muy’ (*many times*) and both perfective adjectives and participles are allowed in the context of the colloquial “cognate participle construction” of Bosque (1990) ⁷⁰:

- (175) a. Un libro muy leído.
 A-masc.sg book-masc.sg very read-part.masc.sg.
 A very read book.
- b. Una camisa muy limpia.
 A-fem..sg shirt-fem.sg well dry-part.fem..sg.
 A very clean shirt.
- (176) a. Leerlo bien leído.
 Read-Inf-it-acc.cl.masc.sg well read-part.masc.sg.
 To read it well read.
- b. Limpiarla bien limpia.
 Clean-Inf-it-acc.cl.fem.sg well clean-part.fem..sg.
 To clean it well clean.

The distributional similarity between perfective adjectives and participles especially, in the above contexts of degree adverbs such as ‘completamente’ (*completely*) or ‘del todo’ (*completely*), intensifying ‘muy’ (*very*) and the colloquial “cognate participle construction” is explained, if we interpret both categories as referring to changed states (Bosque 1990). However, in section (5. 3. 5) we will see how the changed states denoted by both perfective adjectives and participles are associated to different aspectual verb types (in the sense of Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979). Nevertheless, for the moment the fact that at the more general level, both perfective adjectives and participles refer to changed states, suggests that these two parts of speech are related at some level. This connection is supported further from the fact that these predicates share the semantic connection of being Stage-Level predicates (in the sense of Carlson 1978).

⁷⁰ This we have translated literally from Spanish “la construcción del participio cognado” which Bosque interprets as the Romance equivalent of the English resultatives of the type *the children hammered the nail flat* seen in Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 1) and below (section 5. 3. 6).

5. 3. 3 Participles and Perfective Adjectives: The Stage-Level Connection.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 5) we saw how the Individual-Level/Stage-Level distinction (Carlson 1978) involves the contrast between predicates expressing more inherent and essential sorts of properties and predicates attributing accidental sorts of properties of stages (temporal or locational) of an individual. This difference we have seen, was represented in the contrast between the adjectives *intelligent* and *drunk* respectively (cf. examples in 129). In what follows we will see how both perfective adjectives and participles can be classified as Stage-Level predicates.

In the same section of Chapter IV I proposed that a diagnostic for Stage-Level predications in Modern Spanish is the distribution of predicates (adjectives of participles) in the context of the 'ser' (*inherent be*) / 'estar' (*contingent be*) copula opposition. We saw that 'ser' is generally used in the context of Individual-Level predicates. In contrast, 'estar' generally appears in the context of Stage-Level properties. By way of illustration I provided the examples in (130) repeated in (177) for convenience.

- (177) a. El niño es/*está inteligente.
The child be-(Inh).3.sg/*be-(cont).3.sg intelligent-sg
The child is intelligent.
- b. Juan *es/ está borracho.
Juan be(inh).3.sg/*be(cont)-3.sg drunk-masc.sg.
Juan is drunk.

Above in (177a) we see how the combination of 'estar' with a prototypical Individual-Level predicate such as 'inteligente' (*intelligent*) results in ungrammaticality as opposed to the grammaticality in the context 'ser'. In (177b) we see how the result is grammatical when the Stage-Level predicate 'borracho' (*drunk*) appears in combination with 'estar'. In the light of this pattern it was concluded that the diagnostic for Stage-Level predications in Modern Spanish, is then the distribution of predicates in the context of 'estar' rather than 'ser'. Both

perfective adjectives and participles occur most naturally in the context of 'estar' rather than 'ser'. I illustrate this for the perfective adjective 'lleno' (*full*) and the participle 'leído' (*read*)⁷¹:

- (178) a. El cubo está/*es lleno.
 The-masc.sg bucket-masc.sg be-(cont).3.sg/*be-(Inh).3.sg/ full-masc.sg
 The bucket is full.
- b. El libro está/*es leído.
 The-masc.sg book-masc.sg be-(cont).3.sg/*be-(Inh).3.sg read-part.masc.sg.
 The book is read.

Therefore, from the distribution of both perfective adjectives and participles together with 'estar' rather than with 'ser' it is possible to conclude that both types of predicates can be characterised as Stage-Level predicators. Furthermore, this conclusion can be corroborated further by the fact that Individual-Level predicates in general, are totally excluded from the 'tener' construction. This we see below where 'tener' combines with the Individual-Level adjective 'inteligente' (*intelligent*) and the result is ungrammatical.

- (179) *Tengo al niño inteligente.
 Have-1.sg to-the-masc.sg child-masc.sg intelligent-sg.
 I have the child intelligent.
 (meaning: I have the child in an intelligent state)

Finally, the fact that Individual-Level predicates are excluded from the Modern Spanish 'tener' resultative construction enables its classification together with the English type of resultative illustrated repeatedly throughout this investigation. Namely, as often mentioned in the literature (Hoekstra 1988, 1992, Pustejovsky 1991, Rapoport 1995) result predicates always have to be Stage-Level. This fact is commonly called the Stage-Level constraint and is illustrated in the contrast below where we see that resultative formation with an Individual-Level predicate such as *intelligent* is impossible.

- (180) a. John laughed himself sick.
 b. * John laughed himself intelligent.

⁷¹ However, (177b) with 'ser' is fine as an event passive, but this is a different construction. On this issue see Robinson (1994).

Finally, from the above we can conclude that both perfective adjectives and participles form part of the same paradigm which I will call the ‘*tener*’ resultative paradigm. The evidence provided pointing in this direction has been firstly, as discussed in the previous section, the similar distribution in the context of participial absolutes, adverbs such as ‘*completamente*’ (*completely*) or ‘*del todo*’ (*completely*), intensifying ‘*muy*’ (*very*), the colloquial “cognate participle construction”. Secondly, additional evidence was provided in this section from the fact that both perfective adjectives and participles are Stage-Level predicates. In the following section we will see how, although as we have just seen perfective adjectives and participles are part of the same ‘*tener*’ resultative paradigm, these appear in complementary distribution with one another.

5. 3. 4 Participles and Perfective Adjectives: The Morphological Connection.

In section (5. 3. 1) it was mentioned briefly that perfective adjectives are related morphologically to participles and that this relation is derivational. This means that perfective adjectives such as ‘*limpio*’ (*clean*), ‘*lleno*’ (*full*), ‘*seco*’ (*dry*), etc. are derived from their participial counterparts ‘*limpiado*’ (*cleaned*), ‘*llenado*’ (*filled*), ‘*secado*’ (*dried*), etc. Nevertheless, according to Bosque (1990) although perfective adjectives are derived forms of the participles, these appear in their morphologically reduced form, since they have lost the characteristic participial ‘*-ado/-ido*’ morphology⁷². However as we see in (181) both the reduced and the full participial forms appear in complementary distribution:

- (181) a. Tengo lleno/*llenado el cubo.
 Have-3.sg full-masc.sg/*full-part.masc..sg the-masc.sg bucket-masc.sg
 I have the bucket full.
- b. Tengo seco/*secado el pelo.
 Have-3.sg dry-masc.sg/*dry-part.masc..sg the-masc.sg hair-masc.sg
 I have the hair dry.

⁷² These perfective adjectives Bosque (1990) calls in Spanish “*participios truncados*” which can be translated as ‘short adjectives’.

- c. Tengo limpia/*limpiada la camisa.
 Have-3.sg clean-fem.sg/*clean-part.fem.sg the-fem.sg shirt-fem.sg
 I have the shirt clean.

According to Bosque (1990) the adjectival derivation from participles is possible mainly from object oriented verbs. I will support the latter from the distribution of these verbs in the context of 'sin' (*without*) and below I illustrate how only verbs which are object-oriented are possible in the latter context and subject-oriented ones are excluded.

- (182) a. Un cubo sin llenar.
 A-masc.sg bucket-masc.sg without fill-Inf
 A bucket without filling.
- b. * Un hombre sin amar.
 A-masc.sg man-masc.sg without love-Inf.
 A man without loving

In this respect perfective adjectives seem to follow the same aspectual constraint than their participial correlates (examples 144a and 144b) in disallowing statives from the construction. However, in contrast to what we saw was the case for participial resultatives, these adjectival ones are allowed mainly in the context of inherently bounded "change of state" denoting situation types. Namely, adjectives like 'vacío' (*empty*), 'lleno' (*full*), etc. are derived from verbs belonging to the aspectual class of achievements. I have now mentioned repeatedly that an important characteristic of this aspectual type is that these have delimited (instead of delimiting) internal arguments (Chapter IV, section 4. 5. 3 and section 5. 2. 1 above). In the following section, we will see how this particular property of this internal argument will be relevant for the analysis of this adjectival 'tener' resultative as a secondary predication structure. For the moment I will continue with an important feature characterising the derivational process between perfective adjectives and participles.

According to Bosque (1990), this derivational process is possible only from verbs which necessarily have to have a (Deep-Structure) internal argument in their lexical specification which is not connected to accusative case assignment. Hence, this derivation is possible with unaccusatives but excluded with unergatives and transitives. Below I provide examples of unergatives and transitives given by Bosque (1990) which can never appear as adjectives:

- (183) Unergatives: 'sonreído' (*smiled*), 'tiritado' (shivered)
 Transitives: 'conducido' (*driven*), 'admirado' (*admired*)

This means that although some of these unaccusative verbs can have transitive counterparts, the form appearing as the perfective adjective is always unaccusative. An important consequence of this, is the fact that perfective adjectives cannot appear in connection with an agentive argument as I illustrate below (example from Bosque 1990: 191):

- (184) Un vaso llenado /*lleno por el camarero.
 A-masc.sg glass-masc.sg fill-part.masc.sg/fill-masc.sg by the-masc.sg waiter-
 masc.sg.
 A glass filled by the waiter.

Therefore, from the above we can conclude that in contrast to participles, perfective adjectives simply lack an external argument and are always unaccusative. This is an important issue, because it was precisely unaccusatives which in (section 5. 2. 5) we saw were excluded from the participial resultative. In section (5. 2. 3) we saw how the participial resultative was characterised by a strict transitivity requirement which was related to the assignment of accusative case. We also saw that this was the reason proposed to explain why most unaccusatives were disallowed in the context of participial resultatives. And it is in relation to the latter that we can now explain why as illustrated in (181) above, perfective adjectives and participles enter in complementary distribution: Participles require transitives and exclude unaccusatives. Adjectives, in turn, require unaccusatives and exclude transitives. Therefore, what these perfective adjectives do is integrate unaccusatives into the paradigm of the 'tener' resultative in the manner illustrated below:

Paradigm of 'tener' Resultative : Unaccusatives: As Perfective Adjectives.
 Transitives: As Participles.

The fact that perfective adjectives and participles enter into complementary distribution will, therefore, motivate differentiated analyses for both constructions. In section (5. 3. 6) we will see how the adjectival resultative is a secondary predication structure and in section (5. 3. 7) we will see how its participial counterpart is a complex predicate. However, before I continue with these issues in the following section I will provide more evidence to support the separate treatment of these constructions.

5. 3. 5 Participial and Adjectival Resultatives: The Differences.

In section (5. 1. 3) above I mentioned briefly that one of the most important differences between the adjectival and the participial ‘tener’ resultative, concerns the relative ordering of the objective DP in both constructions. In order to illustrate this point, below I provide examples of the ‘tener’ + perfective adjective construction in (185a) and the ‘tener’ + participle construction in (185b).

- (185) a. Tengo *la camisa* limpia.
Have-1.sg the-fem.sg shirt-fem.sg clean-fem.sg.
I have the shirt clean.
- b. Tengo leídos *los libros*.
Have-1.sg read-masc.sg the-masc.pl book-masc.pl.
I have the books read.

From the examples we see that in (185a), the objective DP ‘*el pelo*’ (*the hair*) appears in its most natural position which is in between ‘tener’ and the perfective adjective. Additionally, in (185b) we see that the objective DP appears immediately after the participle ‘leídos’ (*read*). Now, although the word-order for the constructions illustrated in (185) is the most natural one and can be categorised as the canonical word-order for each structure. Nevertheless, it can also be reversed as in (186) below:

- (186) a. Tengo limpia *la camisa*.
Have-1.sg clean-fem.sg. the-fem.sg shirt-fem.sg
I have clean the shirt.
- b. Tengo *los libros* leídos.
Have-1.sg the-masc.pl book-masc.pl read-part.masc.pl.
I have the books read.

We could interpret the object in (186a) as an object which has been scrambled to the right and the objective DP in (186b) could be interpreted as a preposed one. However, in this investigation I will not be concerned with the conditions under which these two word order patterns can be derived. But what I am interested in, is whether the word order difference could be a reflection of a difference in relation between constituents. That is, whether the string represented by the objective DP and the

embedded predicates form a constituent which is distinct from the matrix verb. Or, in contrast, whether the matrix and embedded predicates together form this constituent and the objective DP is licensed by both predicates. I have already proposed a separate analysis concerning these relations. I will now formulate the difference between participial and adjectival resultatives in terms of the contrast between a Complex Predicator and Small Clause (Contreras 1995). Nonetheless, I still need more evidence to support these differentiated analyses and I propose that the objective DP itself will provide us with an answer to this issue. Therefore, I will return to the properties of the objective DP and we will see how the adjectival resultative objective DP is less constrained than its participial counterpart. In section (5. 2. 6) we saw how for these latter resultatives the objective DP was subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. This constraint we saw, excluded non-specific cumulative DPs (bare plural and mass nouns) from the construction (cf. examples in 166). As we will see below a non-specific DP such as the mass noun ‘*el vino*’ (*the wine*) is allowed in the context of the perfective adjective ‘*oculto*’ (*hidden*):

- (187) Tengo el vino oculto.
 Have-3.sg the-masc.sg wine-masc.sg hidden-masc.sg.
 I have the wine hidden.

Therefore from the fact that the DP can be a non-specific one, we can conclude that the adjectival resultative is not subject to the Specific DP Constraint. This follows from the fact that this DP although affected (in the sense of Anderson 1978), it is not a delimiting DP in the narrow sense adopted in this investigation. This situation then suggests that the relationship between ‘*tener*’ and its adjective is not as close as the one proposed for participial resultatives. This in turn means, that the objective DP of the adjectival resultative is not a composite argument and instead, the perfective adjective appears to be linked to this objective DP via some sort of linking relation. I will proceed to explain this in more detail and I will return to the characterisation of the objective DP of participial resultatives provided in section (5. 2. 6). We saw that this objective DP was highly constrained in that only quantized DPs were allowed. The fact that this objective DP was so highly constrained suggested that the relationship between ‘*tener*’ and its participle is very close and the result was that the objective DP is a semantically composite argument. In order to illustrate this let us elaborate on the latter and think briefly what such a DP stands for: although it was mentioned that the participial resultative requires a delimiting DP, it is technically a delimited DP. We saw how participles when appearing in isolation in the participial absolute construction allow cumulative DPs (cf. example 170). In addition, we also saw how only accomplishments and activities allow both quantized and cumulative

DPs. Therefore, for the participial resultative the only way to ensure that this DP becomes delimited, is by becoming a composite argument of 'tener' and the participles.

The question now is how does this resultative construction come to be a delimited construction in the first place? In order to answer this question, I will return quickly to the distinction between dynamic and stative states mentioned in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 5). We saw that verb such as *know*, *believe*, *have*, *love* are static states and verbs like *stand*, *support*, *sit* are dynamic. In addition, we also saw that although statives in general can never be delimited and their internal argument can never be delimiting, some of these statives can however, become delimiters. These delimiter statives, I mentioned were to be found mainly among the dynamic group. Now, although from the above, we see that *have* is classed as a static state, it is not very clear whether this classification is the right one in this context of resultatives. As often mentioned in the literature (Cann 1996), the denotation of *have* connected to the perfective paradigm is the *hold* interpretation. This interpretation then, highlights the locative meaning component of *have* which enables the distribution of these constructions together with other members of the locative paradigm (see Chapter VI, section 6. 1. 2). Under the *hold* interpretation, *have* can then be classed together with the dynamic states which in turn, can be delimiters. This is precisely what is relevant for 'tener'. Under these auspices, the Modern Spanish verb of possession is a dynamic state and a delimiter. The accomplishment or activity participles become delimited by 'tener' and in consequence, the objective DP surfaces as a quantized DP. Bearing on the latter, this DP can be interpreted as a composite argument of 'tener' and the relevant participles. As mentioned earlier, in section (5. 3. 7) we will see that the mechanism involved in this process of composite argument formation is Heavy Merger. For the moment however, I will focus on the adjectival resultatives. For these, the situation is somewhat different.

From example (187) we have seen that the objective DP is allowed to appear as a cumulative DP. However, in contrast to what we have just seen is the case for the participial DP, the adjectival one is inherently delimited. In chapter IV (section 4. 5. 3) we saw that the aspectual type of achievement verbs are the ones which can have both quantized and cumulative DPs which do not change the aspectual value of the the verb. Whether quantized or cumulative, these DPs are always inherently delimited and this is precisely what lies at the heart of the difference between participial and adjectival objective DPs. Namely, by the very fact that perfective adjectives are based on achievement verbs which are already inherently delimited, the adjectival resultative construction is already delimited. As a consequence, 'tener' is then not required for delimiting purposes. The objective DP in turn, can still be interpreted as already inherently delimited, because it is part of the

achievement verb, but it is not a semantically composite argument.

Therefore, from what we have just seen we can conclude that the adjectival and objective DPs are in fact, not that different. They are both delimited DPs. However, the process undergone by each construction to gain the same result is different. For adjectival resultatives, 'tener' is a main verb, the DP is its object and the perfective adjective (achievement) is a secondary predicate modifying the latter. In contrast, for participial resultatives, 'tener' is a Lexical auxiliary which enters into a parasitic relation with the arguments of another predicate and the result is a semantically composite argument. I will return to this issue in section (5. 3. 7). In the following section we will see more about the properties characterising secondary predicates and I will also pose the question of whether there is some possibility whereby participial resultatives could be interpreted under this approach after all.

5. 3. 6 Perfective Adjectives as Secondary Predicates.

Adjective Phrases prototypically modify arguments of lexical heads. These can be either subject or object argument DPs as illustrated below⁷³ :

- (188) a. Lola compró el coche entusiasmada.
 Lola buy-pret.3.sg the-masc.sg car-masc.sg happy-fem.sg
 Lola bought the car happy.
- b. Pepe toma el café caliente.
 Pepe drink-3.sg the-masc.sg coffee-sg hot-sg
 Pepe drinks his coffee hot.

In (188a) we see how the adjective 'entusiasmada' (*happy*) modifies the subject DP 'Lola' and instead in (188b), we see that it is the object 'el café' (*the coffee*) which modified by 'caliente' (*hot*). In Mallén (1992) the following contrast is mentioned in connection with these two types of adjectival predicates in the context of wh-extraction:

- (189) a. ??Cómo de entusiasmada compró Lola el coche ?
 How of happy-fem.sg buy-pret.3.sg Lola the-masc.sg car-masc.sg
 How happy did Lola buy the car ?

⁷³ Examples in (188) to (190) from Mallén (1992: 1-4) glosses are my own.

- b. Cómo de caliente toma Pepe el café ?
 How of hot-sg drink-3.sg Pepe the-masc.sg coffee-sg
 How hot does Pepe drink coffee ?
- (190) a. ?? Cómo de entusiasmada piensas que compró Lola el coche ?
 How of happy-fem.sg think-2sg that buy-pret.3.sg Lola the-masc.sg car-
 masc.sg
 How happy do you think that Lola bought the car ?
- b. Cómo de caliente piensas que toma Pepe el café ?
 How of hot-sg think-2sg that drink-3.sg Pepe the-masc.sg coffee-sg
 How hot do you think that Pepe drinks coffee ?

The above examples show how an object oriented predicative AP such as ‘*cómo de caliente*’ (*how hot*) which modifies the objective DP ‘*el coche*’ (*the car*), can be wh-extracted in its own clause or from inside an embedded clause as the complement of ‘*think*’ (*think*). In contrast, in (190a) and (190b) we see that this type of extraction is not possible with an adjectival predicate such as ‘*entusiasmada*’ (*happy*) which is coindexed with the subject. In connection with perfective adjectives below we see that in the context of wh-extraction, these follow the pattern of the object oriented adjectives such as ‘*caliente*’ (*hot*) in (191).

- (191) a. Cómo de limpio tiene Pepe el pelo ?
 How of clean-masc.sg have-3.sg Pepe the-masc.sg hair-masc.sg.
 How clean has Pepe got his hair ?
- b. Cómo de limpio piensas que tiene Pepe el pelo ?
 How of clean-masc.sg think-2sg that have-3.sg Pepe the-masc.sg hair-masc.sg
 How clean do you think Pepe has his hair ?

Therefore, in the light of the evidence presented in (191) it is possible to say that perfective adjectives are object oriented secondary predictors. In the literature secondary predictors have been associated with the property that “they have as their defining characteristic the fact that they link to arguments of another predicate” (Mallén 1992: 4). I will now show how this applies to adjectival resultatives.

In section (5. 3. 1) I characterised the relation between ‘*tener*’ and its objective DP as an instance of Discharge (in the sense of Speas 1990). Discharge then tells us that the objective DP is theta marked or selected by ‘*tener*’. Furthermore, in the same

section and I also raised the question of how this type of relation would accommodate perfective adjectives. Bearing on these, I have to mention something that has not been mentioned explicitly before which is that there is no lexical relation between ‘*tener*’ and the perfective adjective. The perfective adjective although having to be of a particular type, it is nevertheless optional. Namely, in the context of ‘*tener*’ it is also possible to find other object oriented adjectives which do not have resultative interpretation as I illustrate in (192):

- (192) Tengo la camisa azul.
 Have-3.sg the-fem.sg shirt-fem.sg blue-sg.
 I have the blue shirt.

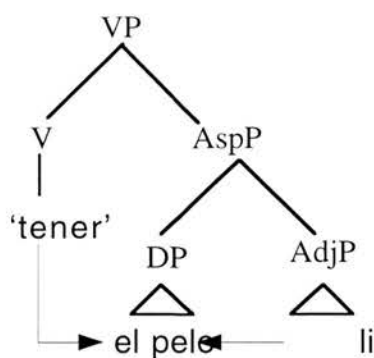
Therefore, the contrast between these perfective adjectives and their non-perfective counterparts is a matter of choice but not a lexical relation of selection established by ‘*tener*’. Evidence for this fact was provided in the previous section where it was mentioned that the objective DP of adjectival resultatives is not subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint (cf. example 187). This we saw was a consequence of the fact that perfective adjectives are based on achievement verbs which are already inherently delimited predicates. Because of this, ‘*tener*’ is not required for delimiting purposes in these adjectival resultatives and as a result the objective DP is not a semantically composite argument. However, if there is no lexical relation between ‘*tener*’ and the perfective adjectives and the objective DP is not a semantically composite argument, it is not very clear how to explain the relation existing between the objective DP and the perfective adjective. That this relation exists can be gleaned from the fact that as mentioned in section (5. 3. 4) perfective adjectives are derived of participles which appear in a morphologically reduced form and that this derivational process is very specialised. We saw that it is possible only from verbs which are semantically object oriented unaccusative verbs. Therefore, from this we can conclude that perfective adjectives need to be linked to this direct object DP in the syntax in order to be licensed. Finally, the question now is how does this take place. In the literature it is often assumed that secondary predication structures project into syntax as Small Clauses (Hoekstra 1988, 1992, Brucart 1991, Guasti 1996, inter alia.). I will briefly elaborate on this. Predicates such as *consider* are the ones which prototypically have been described as taking Small Clauses as shown in (193) below:

- (193) Peter considers [_{SC} Jim / *him* a moron].

An important characteristic of Small Clauses relates to the peculiar nature of their

specifier subject position which can be interpreted as being in some sense 'hybrid'. This means that, this subject position although being related in some way to the embedded predicate, at the same time it also allows government from an outside governor such as the matrix predicate. This then creates some sort of double dependency. With relevance to (193), this can be seen by the fact that the small clause subject *Jim*, although being an argument of the predicate *to be a moron*, is also related to the matrix predicate *consider* through the relation of government. If we take into account the close connection between accusative case assignment and government, that this double dependency exists can be seen from the fact that whenever a subject pronoun is present it has to appear in its accusative form (as *him* in 193). In returning to our adjectival resultatives, we can then conclude that a Small Clause structure analysis seems to be appropriate for this type of construction. This type of approach would account for two things: firstly, it would account for the fact that the adjectival resultative objective DP is not a semantically composite argument. Secondly, at the same time a Small Clause analysis would also explain why the perfective adjective is inextricably linked to this object. I will take as evidence for this linking the fact that this objective DP is an affected and delimited one. Furthermore, as suggested earlier (in fn. 61) following Egerland (1998) I adopt the assumption that all delimited predicates project an ASP(ect) node⁷⁴. In this work this can apply not only to verbs but also to adjectives and even nouns which fulfil a delimiting function or are delimited. Furthermore, this ASP node carries both the delimitedness and affectedness feature. Therefore, since perfective adjectives are inherently delimited and can only be derived from verbs with object oriented affected arguments, it seems reasonable to assume that these project into syntax as ASP Small Clauses. This I illustrate in the tree structure below where for the sake of simplicity all intermediate (X') and functional projections have been left out:

(194)



⁷⁴ Here Egerland (1998) offers a revised version Borer's (1993, 1995) and Arad's (1995) of ASP node.

In (194) we see how the perfective adjective 'limpio' projects within the confines of an AspP which is the host of the Small Clause specifier subject position where the DP 'el pelo' appears. As mentioned earlier, this then ensures that this DP enters into a double dependency relation between 'tener' and 'limpio'. In this way the Modern Spanish adjectival resultative can then be classed together with other secondary structures described as such in the literature (Napoli 1993, Rapoport 1993). Among these we find, causatives, small clauses, perception verb constructions, depictives and the Germanic type of resultative mentioned repeatedly above. All of these constructions I illustrate below (examples 195a to 195e from Rapoport 1993: 163):

- (195) a. Causative: Sally made *the tiger* furious.
 b. SC: The Children found *the lion* appealing.
 c. PV: Mary saw *Harry* upset.
 d. Depictive: Noa ate *the meat* raw.
 e. Resultative: Tamar hammered *the metal* flat.

Furthermore, as we can see from the examples in (195) all these constructions share similar surface structural properties. The most salient of these, concerns the relative ordering of the objective DPs in relation with the main verbs and the secondary predicates: these objects are arguments of the main verbs and the secondary predicates *furious*, *appealing*, *upset*, *raw* and *flat* all seem to be linked to the respective objective DPs in some way.

Let us now turn again to participial resultatives. In previous sections we have seen how although participial resultatives share a number of properties with their adjectival counterparts, it is still the case that they differ in important ways. We have seen that these differences lead to a relation of complementary distribution between these two types of resultatives. Most importantly, from the fact that the objective DP of the participial resultative seems to be a semantically composite argument and its adjectival counterpart is not, I proposed differentiated analysis for these two constructions. Nevertheless, for the sake of the argument I will ask the question of whether participial resultatives could be also analysed as Small Clause secondary predication structures. In order to see whether this is the case, below I return to the wh-extraction environments illustrated above for perfective adjectives and I apply them to the context of the participial resultative :

- (196) a. ?? Cómo de pintados tiene Pepe cinco cuadros ?
 How of painted-masc.pl have-3.sg Pepe five painting-masc.pl.
 How painted has Pepe got five paintings ?

- b. ?? Cómo de pintados piensas que tiene Pepe cinco cuadros ?
 How of painted-masc.pl think-2sg that have-3.sg Pepe five painting-masc.pl.
 How painted do you think Pepe has five paintings ?

From (196a) and (196b) we see that the participle ‘pintados’ (*painted*) in the above wh-extraction contexts are not acceptable. The question we have to ask ourselves is why this should be so. Especially, in the light of the fact that as seen in section (5. 2. 2), participial resultatives share the object-orientedness property of their adjectival counterparts which should make extraction possible in principle. However, the fact that these examples are unacceptable seems to be related more to constituency. Here the matrix verb and the embedded predicate together form this constituent and the objective NP is licensed in some way by both predicates. Or in other words, ‘tener’ and the embedded participle form a Complex Predicator and the objective NP is then the argument of both predicates⁷⁵. In the following section I will characterise this as an instance of Heavy Merger.

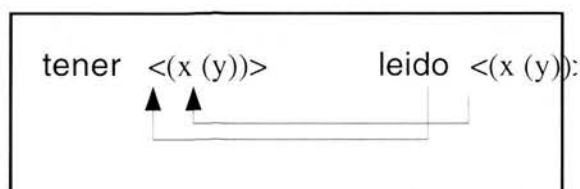
5. 3. 7 Participial Resultatives as Complex Predicates.

Throughout this thesis we have also seen that an important characteristic of these Lexical auxiliaries is that these import some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in and this does not seem surprising if we take into account that Lexical auxiliaries were characterised as being somewhere in between a lexical verb and a functional element (cf. Chapter III, section 3. 3. 1). In Chapter III (section 3. 3. 3) it was concluded that these selectional restrictions were important for the determination of the lexical content of auxiliaries in terms of argument related information. In section (5. 1. 1) above I have characterised ‘tener’ as a Lexical auxiliary. From what we have seen so far in terms of the selectional restrictions involved in the ‘tener’ participial resultative we know that this auxiliary does have argument related information in its lexical specification and this information is connected to both the subjective and the objective arguments. Firstly, in section (5. 1. 1) we have seen that the ‘tener’ resultative only allows the presence of a [+human] subject (cf. example 137). Secondly and most importantly, throughout section (5. 2) I presented evidence which suggested that for this participial resultative the selectional restriction also concerns the objective DP. More

⁷⁵ This is connected to the notion of Complete Functional Complex of Chomsky (1975).

specifically as we have seen in section (5. 2. 6) of the present chapter, the ‘tener’ participial resultative is also characterised by the presence of a highly constrained object which was called the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. This constraint, we have seen disallows cumulative (mass and bare plural) DPs from this construction. Bearing on the latter, we can then conclude that ‘tener’ as a Lexical auxiliary requires the presence of these two arguments in order to be licensed in the syntax. Also in Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) I proposed that the way Lexical auxiliaries license their arguments in the syntax is by entering into a parasitic relation with the individual arguments of an embedded predicate. This type of relation I called Heavy Merger and was illustrated in (52) (in Chapter III, section 3. 3. 1). Now for ‘tener’ I propose that Heavy Merger involves both the subjective and the objective argument. I illustrate this mechanism graphically below for the complex ‘tener leido’ (*have read*). As mentioned repeatedly throughout this thesis in the representation of Heavy Merger, I will use the argument structure notation of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) and Grimshaw (1990) distinguishing the internal/external argument distinction in terms of a hierarchical structure.

(197)



As in (52) in Chapter III, in (197) above we find the represented the fact that the internal argument position (y) of ‘leido’ becomes Merged with the internal argument (y) position of ‘tener’. This merger of internal argument positions I propose is obligatory and crucial to the aspectual interpretation of the construction and is also responsible for the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. In section (5. 3. 5) we saw that the only way delimiting this objective DP could turn into a delimited one, was by becoming a semantically composite argument. Additionally, Merger also involves the external arguments. In (197) we see how the external argument (x) of the participle merges with the external argument of the Lexical auxiliary ‘tener’. However, as mentioned in section (5. 1. 3) the ‘tener’ participial construction is ambiguous between an identification and non-identification interpretation of subjects of the matrix and embedded predicates (cf. example 141). Therefore, in

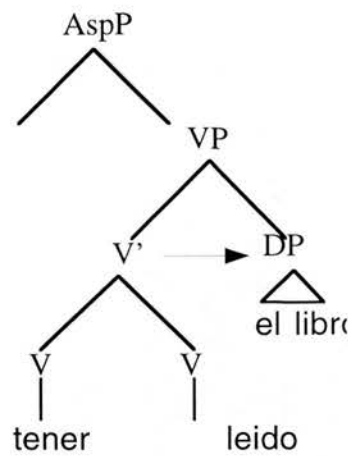
order to accommodate this ambiguous interpretation, I will interpret the Merger of external arguments as optional. This means that if there is non-identification of subjects, then we have a case of partial Merger and where the only semantically composite argument is the objective DP. In contrast, if there is identification, then we have a case of total Merger and then as a result we will then have two semantically composite arguments. Finally, that Heavy Merger is taking place in the argument structure representation of (197) above, is represented by joining lines linking the argument positions.

Now, the fact that the Merger of objective arguments is obligatory and the Merger of subjects is optional immediately raises the question of why this should be so. The answer I will give is related to grammaticalisation and in relation to the latter, I will return briefly to what we saw earlier was a crucial difference between adjectival and participial resultative DPs. We saw that the former as opposed to the latter, was not a semantically composite argument. This in turn, leads us to the resultative to perfective transition mentioned in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 6). There I mentioned that this process is initiated by a weakening of the semantic component of possession in the resultative which coincides with the moment where *have* starts to combine with mental state verbs, reporting verbs and stative verbs of perception (cf. examples in 134). However, it is not until the internal argument becomes a semantically composite argument that the process of grammaticalisation can start for the ‘*tener*’ resultative. We saw that semantically composite arguments were found in the context of verbs which have delimiting objective DPs such as accomplishments and achievements. Delimiting DPs we saw in the previous chapter (section 4. 5. 3) were characterised by the fact that these can alter the aspectual value of the sentence and this property I proposed was to make these aspectually variable. Therefore, I now propose that the weakening of the semantic component of possession is connected to the inclusion of accomplishment and activity verbs into the paradigm of ‘*tener*’ resultative. The reason for this inclusion is because these verbs have aspectually variable internal argument DPs which in turn open the door for the subsequent inclusion of mental state verbs, reporting verbs and stative verbs of perception which leads to identification of subjects and to the reanalysis of the resultative into a perfective. I will leave this issue aside for now and I will return to it in Chapter VI in connection with Old Spanish.

However, before I finish with the characterisation of this ‘*tener*’ participial resultative construction I still have to answer one last question which is how can these semantically composite arguments be represented in the syntax. We saw that an important problem to overcome when dealing with semantically composite arguments is that these look as if they have been doubly theta marked and as we saw in Chapter III (section 3. 1. 2) these pose a problem for the Projection Principle

(Chomsky 1981, 1986). In order to solve this, I presented briefly the work of Guasti (1996). We saw how in this work it is proposed that one way to overcome the restriction on doubly theta marked argument positions in the syntax, is by relaxing the Theta Criterion in a way that these are allowed as far as theta roles are assigned to the same syntactic position. Furthermore, as proposed in this latter work, this was possible if the process of theta marking was done under government rather than sisterhood (cf. tree structure in 33). However, what was not mentioned there was that Guasti (1996) proposes this relaxation of the Theta Criterion in response to the work on causatives by Alsina (1992) in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar. In this work a different way to overcome the ban on double theta marking is proposed and this is achieved precisely by creating semantically composite arguments at argument structure by a lexical process called Lexical Fusion. These semantically composite arguments are subsequently assigned to one single syntactic position in the syntax. Therefore, the debate again revolves around whether causatives should be accounted for in the syntax or as a lexical process at argument structure. However, because these latter constructions do not constitute the object of this investigation, it is difficult to evaluate which proposal is the right one for these causatives. Nevertheless, what we learn from the above is that both possibilities are plausible and it will be the data that will determine one or the other approach. From the contrast between participial and adjectival resultatives we have seen so far, it seems reasonable to assume different approaches. For the latter, I already proposed that perfective adjectives are secondary predicates which link to the objective DP in the syntax. In contrast, for their participial counterparts I have just proposed that the semantically composite argument DP occurs at argument structure via the lexical process of Heavy Merger. In the light of Alsina's (1992) proposal we can then now assume that this semantically composite argument is then assigned to one syntactic position in the syntax. Furthermore, under this view we can then also assume that both theta markers can then occur in a sisterhood relation in a syntactic representation. This I illustrate below in (198) for the complex 'tener leído' (have read), where again I follow Egerland (1998) and adopt the assumption that all delimited predicates project an ASP(pect) node which we saw carries both the delimitedness and affectedness feature. This I illustrate in the tree structure below where again for the sake of simplicity most intermediate (X') and functional projections have been omitted:

(198)



From (198) we see that ‘tener’ forms a complex predicate with ‘leido’ and these two verbs together, under a relationship of sisterhood, then license together the objective DP ‘el libro’.

Finally, what we can conclude from the above is that in assuming argument linking in the syntax and composite or parasitic relations at argument structure we can then explain how grammaticalisation works. The contrast between adjectival and participial resultative structures has shown us that in terms of grammaticalisation this can be explained as an instance of how a general construction becomes highly specialised in the course of grammaticalisation and language will find any means to accommodate this change. Before grammaticalisation to a perfective structure is possible the internal argument of the resultative construction has to become weakened and one way for this to happen is by letting these verbs with aspectually variable internal arguments into the paradigm but only allowing quantized DPs: as soon as cumulative DPs are possible then this provides the right conditions for other verbs to enter the paradigm and initiate the process of reanalysis into a perfective. As mentioned earlier, I will return to this issue in the following chapter.

5. 3. 8 Summary.

In this section I started off by looking at the properties of adjectival resultative. In section (5. 3. 1) we have seen that these are formed with ‘*tener*’ which appears in combination with a special type of adjective characterised in Bosque (1990) as perfective adjectives. We have seen that these adjectives share a number of properties with participles: they are both allowed in the context of participial absolutes, degree adverbs such as ‘*completamente*’ (*completely*) or ‘*del todo*’ (*completely*), intensifying ‘*muy*’ (*very*) and the colloquial “cognate participle construction”. Furthermore, we also have seen in section (5. 3. 3) that both perfective adjectives and participles share the characteristic of being Stage-Level predicates. However, we have also seen that these also differ in a number of ways. The most important difference we have seen in section (5. 3. 4) is that perfective adjectives although related to participles morphologically in some sense, these are only allowed as unaccusatives. Transitives and unergatives are disallowed. In contrast in section (5. 2) it was concluded that participial resultatives were constrained by a strict transitivity requirement, thus disallowing most unaccusatives but allowing some unergatives. Furthermore, in section (5. 3. 5) we have seen that another difference between participles and perfective adjectives is related to the fact that both are associated to different aspectual verb types (in the sense of Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979). The former are achievements and the latter are accomplishments or activities. This contrast between aspectual types we saw also results in different types of objective DPs. Perfective adjectives have affected and delimited internal arguments and this allows both quantized and cumulative DPs. In section (5. 2) we saw that participles also have affected internal argument DPs, but because these are associated to accomplishment and activity verbs, these were characterised as delimiting ones. However, we also saw that participial resultatives are constrained in a way that only quantized DPs. These DPs were described in section (5. 3. 5) as being technically delimited DPs because these are the ones that delimit an event. As a result, both participial and adjectival resultatives have delimited DPs. However, the process undergone by each construction to gain these delimited DPs is different. For adjectival resultatives this process happens in the syntax via an argument linking process by a secondary predicate. In contrast, for participial resultatives the Lexical auxiliary undergoes Heavy Merger to create semantically composite arguments.

5. 4 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have provided an analysis for the Modern Spanish 'tener' participial resultative. In section (5. 1) I presented the general properties and issues surrounding this construction. We saw that in this construction 'tener' combines with certain participles which display object agreement. We saw how the periphrastic participial resultative construction has been featured in the generative literature. We saw how in Lois (1989) it was characterised as a causative construction and in Egerland (1998) it was correlated with its Swedish counterpart. Nevertheless, from the fact that the Modern Spanish 'tener' construction could have both the identification and non-identification of subject interpretation, I rejected Egerland's (1998) analysis of the resultative participle in the light of the classic passive participle analysis (Jaeggli 1986). Instead, I characterised 'tener' as a Lexical auxiliary and I returned to the issue concerning selectional restrictions. We saw that for 'tener' the first selectional restriction was connected to the [+human] property of the subject. Additionally, I suggested to follow through the earlier proposal that this selectional restriction was also connected in some way to the argument acting as the objective DP (cf. Chapter IV, section 4. 2). Therefore, in section (5. 2) I examined all the constraints holding on the Modern Spanish 'tener' participial resultative. We saw that the lexical constraints are both semantic and syntactic in nature. From a syntactic point of view we saw how there is a strong transitivity requirement in that only transitive verbs are allowed in the context of the participial resultative. This extends to the specified object unergatives and the causative transitives which in the 'tener' construction have to appear in their transitive accusative form. From a semantic point of view, the 'tener' participial construction only allows the aspectual types of verbs which require a delimiting objective DPs. I adopted a strict view of what is meant by delimiting DP in that the alternation between quantized and cumulative is only aspectually significant for accomplishments and activities. This strict view, then, excludes stative and achievement verbs from the equation, because as we have seen in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 3) these aspectual types are not affected by the referential properties of their objective DP. Furthermore, in addition of a delimiting DP this 'tener' construction also requires that this DP be an affected one. This I called the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. It was proposed that the direct object DP is constrained in such a way, because it semantically composite argument of both the participles and

'tener'. This in turn, lead to the proposal of a Heavy Merger analysis for the Modern Spanish 'tener' construction. In Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) I proposed that this mechanism involves the situation where the Lexical auxiliary enters into some sort of parasitic relation with the arguments belonging to the embedded predicate. For the participial resultative I proposed that this parasitic relation involves both the internal and the external argument.

Furthermore, I presented the participial resultative alongside another type of 'tener' construction where this verb occurs in combination with perfective adjectives (Bosque 1990). We saw that these adjectives share a number of properties with participles. But in effect they also differ in a number of ways. The most important difference being that perfective adjectives are only allowed as unaccusatives. Transitives and unergatives are disallowed. Furthermore, we also saw that another difference between participles and perfective adjectives is related to the fact that both are associated to different aspectual verb types (in the sense of Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979). The former are achievements and the latter are accomplishments or activities and as a consequence this results in different types of objective DPs that are allowed in the construction: Perfective adjectives have affected and delimited internal arguments and this allows both quantized and cumulative DPs. Participles also have affected internal argument DPs, but because these are associated to accomplishment and activity verbs, these were characterised as delimiting ones which are subject to the Quantized DP Constraint. As a result, both participial and adjectival resultatives have delimited DPs. However, the process undergone by each construction to gain these delimited DPs is different. For adjectival resultatives I proposed that this process happens in the syntax via an argument linking process by a secondary predicate. For participial resultatives in contrast, the Lexical auxiliary undergoes Heavy Merger to create semantically composite arguments. Finally, in section (5. 3. 8) I concluded that this contrast between argument linking in the syntax and composite argument formation at argument structure can then explain the process of grammaticalisation, because it shows us how the process of the weakening of the internal argument of the resultative construction might have proceeded. In the following chapter I will deal with this issue in more detail in connection with Old Spanish. I will return to the Lexical/Functional auxiliary distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) and I will characterise Old Spanish auxiliaries as Lexical ones. We will see how this correlates with a strong auxiliary selection system which is at the same time ambiguous between a resultative and a perfective reading.

Chapter VI

The Spanish Perfect and Grammaticalisation

6.0 Introduction.

In Chapter IV four properties characterising Lexical Perfective auxiliaries were presented. The first two we saw were the ones proposed by Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) which I will briefly repeat here. In section (4. 1. 1), Lexical perfective auxiliaries were described as the ones being involved in languages which are sensitive to the auxiliary selection rule and related to the latter where participles display the feature of (number and gender) participle agreement. In section (4. 3. 3) it was mentioned that an analysis of perfectives centring around the feature of participle agreement would not be central to this investigation. Instead, I proposed to look for what lexical property makes these perfective auxiliaries Lexical. In relation to the latter, I pursued the idea that these auxiliaries display some sort of selectional restriction. In order to substantiate the latter, it was proposed to look for evidence in connection with the grammaticalisation path of perfectives and two more properties characterising Lexical perfective auxiliaries were presented. First, on the basis that in some languages perfectives are ambiguous between a perfective and a resultative reading, I proposed that the information contained in the lexical entry of these auxiliaries, is connected to this resultative construction. The fact that as seen in section (4. 2. 3) (and also throughout Chapter V) resultatives are object-oriented aspectual constructions, lead to the conclusion that the selectional restriction relevant for perfective Lexical auxiliaries, was connected in some way to internal arguments. Secondly, In Chapter IV I proposed that this perfective / resultative ambiguity also becomes reflected in some way through the strength of the auxiliary selection rule. What resultatives and strong auxiliary selection rules have in common is the fact that they are object oriented.

In Chapter IV it was claimed that Old Spanish is a system of Lexical auxiliaries, but this claim was presented without corroborating evidence. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to provide this evidence and more specifically, to show how the

above properties fare with this period of the language. I will return to the issue of auxiliary selection and I will provide an account which involves a unified analysis of *be / have* selection. This will involve a lexicalist analysis in terms of Heavy Merger where these Lexical auxiliaries enter into some scope or parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicates. In the previous chapter (section 5. 3. 7) the Modern Spanish participial resultative was characterised as involving the same mechanism at argument structure. In this chapter I will return briefly to this issue and I will distinguish resultatives and perfectives in terms of which arguments undergo obligatory Merger and which ones do this optionally. Finally, this contrast between optional and obligatory Merger of arguments will be related in sections (6. 2. 4) and (6. 2. 5) to the grammaticalisation process of perfectives. In Chapter II it was proposed that this process was connected to a weakening process of the internal argument. In section (6. 2. 5) I will show tentatively how this applies for Modern Spanish which has a system of Functional auxiliaries.

This chapter is organised as follows: In section (6. 1) I return to the features of auxiliary selection and participle agreement in connection with Old Spanish and I briefly discuss the issues involved. Section (6. 2) will be devoted to the characterisation of Old Spanish as a system with Lexical auxiliaries. As such we will see how this system is subject to the resultative/perfective ambiguity and which is accompanied by a strong system of auxiliary selection.

6. 1 Old Spanish Perfectives: The Data.

6. 1. 1 Auxiliary Selection.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 1. 1) I mentioned briefly that Old Spanish was classed as a language displaying the auxiliary selection feature in the formation of compound tenses. We saw that this phenomenon was connected to the principled selection of *be* and *have* by certain types of verbs in some languages. For Old Spanish this applies in that mainly intransitive verbs of movement, states and change of state verbs take '*ser*' (*be*) as their auxiliary. This we illustrate we find illustrated below with '*ir*' (*to go*), '*posar*' (*to rest*) and '*nasçer*' (*to be born*)⁷⁶:

⁷⁶ Old Spanish texts are quoted here according to the following abbreviations: (*CMC*): Cantar de Mio Cid; (*LRP*): Libro Rimado de Palácio; (*PFG*): Poema de Fernán González; (*LUC*): El Conde Lucanor; (*LBA*): El Libro de Buen Amor; (*LA*): Libro de Alexandre; (*ARM*): Auto de los Reyes Magos.

- (199) a. Los mandados son idos a todas partes.
 The-masc.pl emissaries-masc.pl be-3.pl go-part.masc.pl to all-fem.pl place-fem.pl.
 The emissaries have gone to all places.
 (CMC: vs. 956)
- b. ..., do dicen el Ansarera ellos posados son.
 ..., where say-3.pl the-masc.sg Ansarera they-masc.pl rest-part.masc.pl be-3.pl.
 ..., where they call the Ansarera they have rested.
 (CMC: vs. 2657)
- c. ... que nunca más tornaron <a> do fueron nascidos.
 ... that never more return-past.3.pl to where be-past.3.pl born-part.masc.pl.
 ... that they never returned again to where they were born.
 (PFG: st. 139)

As mentioned in Chapter IV (section 4. 3. 2) these verbs illustrated in (199) are the ones generally categorised in the literature as unaccusatives (in the sense of Burzio 1986 and Perlmutter 1978). In contrast, transitives and the verbs classed as unergative intransitives are found generally in the context of the auxiliary 'aver' (*have*). This again we find illustrated below in (200a) with a prototypical unergative verb such as 'soñar' (*to dream*) and in (200b) for a transitive verb such as 'dexar' (*to leave*).

- (200) a. ... mucho era pagado del sueño que ha soñado.
 ... much be-3.sg satisfy-part.masc.sg of-the-masc.sg dream-masc.sg that
 have-3.sg dream-part.masc.sg.
 He was very happy of the dream he has dreamed.
 (CMC: vs. 412)
- b. En Valladolid creo que avemos dexado todos nuestros ponimientos.
 In Valladolid believe-1.sg that have-1.pl leave-part.masc.sg all-masc.pl
 our-masc.pl things-masc.pl
 In Valladolid I believe that we have left (behind) all our things.
 (LRP: st. 464)

In Chapter IV two proposals which explain the above contrast between 'ser' and 'aver' selection have been presented. For instance, in section (4. 3. 2) we saw how for a number of authors (Hoekstra 1984, Taraldsen 1986, 1991, Lois 1990, inter alia) the auxiliary selection rule is accounted for in relation to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978). This hypothesis, states that there is a distinction between intransitives in that the single argument of some of them is in fact, an underlying object. This is interpreted in relation with Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986) which establishes a connection between structural accusative case and the incidence of external arguments. This generalisation then explains the unaccusative and unergative contrast in terms of the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction. Unaccusatives being non-accusative case assigners, have non-thematic subjects and because transitives and unergatives are associated with accusative case assignment these then have thematic subjects. In terms of auxiliary selection, verbs with non-thematic subjects take *be* and the ones with thematic subjects take *have*.

A different type of approach is the one presented in the work of Den Dikken (1993). In section (4. 4. 2) we saw how in this work it is proposed that auxiliary selection should be explained in connection with the aspectual notion of telicity. Telic verbs select for *be* and *atelic* ones select for *have*.

These accounts of auxiliary selection were rejected on several grounds. First, on the specific level, Den Dikken's (1993) account was characterised in Chapter IV as being too strong and the reason given was related to the fact that unaccusative verbs are not a semantically uniform class. Telicity can be seen from two points of view, from the point of view of the inherent aspectual meaning of verbs (in terms of the Vendler-Dowty aspectual typology) or from the point of view of aspect at the sentential level. With this in mind, it is possible to categorise change of state and the *arrive*-class of unaccusatives as achievements and inherently atelic. The *run*- and *roll*-classes can be classed as activities which are inherently atelic but can become telic under certain circumstances. Finally, stative verbs are atelic at both the inherent and the sentential levels. Therefore, in the light of the latter if verbs selecting *be* are telic, it is not very clear whether Den Dikken (1993) is referring to telicity at the inherent or the sentential level.

On the other hand, the phenomenon of auxiliary selection explained in terms of Burzio's Generalisation based on the thematic/non-thematic distinction was rejected on the grounds that the unaccusative/unergative contrast is based on the different properties of subjects. It was proposed that what is relevant for auxiliary selection are the special properties of objects (or internal arguments) and what is meant by this will become clearer throughout this chapter. Nevertheless, this takes us to the more general objections to these approaches to auxiliary selection.

On the more general level, both the Unaccusative Hypothesis under Burzio's

Generalisation and Den Dikken's (1993) work were characterised as depicting discrete systems. It was established that auxiliary selection is part of the greater process of language change which is grammaticalisation and the evidence provided was related to two issues: Firstly, the verbs categorised as unaccusatives do not form a semantically uniform class. In the literature, this has led to the claim that the unergative/unaccusative contrast is not an absolute (Levin and Rappaport 1992, 1995). Secondly, auxiliary selection systems are not uniform either and there appears to be a great deal of crosslinguistic variation.

In Chapter II (section (2. 2. 3) the process of grammaticalisation was described as involving the notion of stages. Now, if we want to account for auxiliary selection with this process in mind, this cannot be done in terms of discrete systems, because as these preclude two way distinctions, there is now way to incorporate further stages. Therefore, in Chapter IV, it was proposed that in order to incorporate these, it is necessary to find a system which is more dynamic. It was suggested that in order to make a system dynamic, one has to have constant elements to operate with. I will now proceed to define what the constant element is related to for perfectives.

In Chapter IV it was proposed that this constant element is related in some way to the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries and most importantly, to the issue of selectional restrictions. More specifically, it was claimed that the restrictions for perfectives with Lexical auxiliaries are to be found in relation to the grammaticalisation path of this construction. The construction involved here is the periphrastic participial resultative and we have seen how in this context, the most salient feature is that the properties of the objective DP become highlighted as very important. I will return to these properties below (in sections 6. 2. 2 and 6. 2. 4), but for now, what this tells us is that the selectional restriction for these perfective auxiliaries is connected in some way to this objective DP. In turn, this objective DP also provides us with the constant element in our dynamic system of auxiliary selection.

The system I propose now, is a unified analysis of auxiliary selection that puts *have* and *be* selection on an equal footing but at the same time allows for grammaticalisation⁷⁷. An important part in this analysis involves the characterisation of verbs at argument structure. In Chapter IV we have seen how according to the Unaccusative Hypothesis the sole argument of an unaccusative verb was to be paired together with the internal argument of a transitive verb. In contrast, the sole argument of an unergative intransitive correlates with its external argument. These

⁷⁷ In Kayne (1993) we also find a unified account of auxiliary selection. Based on an idea presented by Freeze (1992), this work proposes that *have* should be interpreted as an instance of *be* with a prepositional element incorporated into it. This account is interesting, because it dispenses of a specific rule to explain auxiliary selection and it unites the issues of the main verb/auxiliary dichotomy and the auxiliary selection/non-auxiliary selection contrast under one analysis. However, this analysis will not be considered here, as it is a purely syntactic account and it cannot be used in the explanation of the phenomenon of grammaticalisation.

correlations were represented in (97) which I repeat below for convenience.

(201)

transitive	(x) (y))
unergative	(x)
unaccusative	((y))

Furthermore, from the above we see how this type of system is one that equates transitives and unergative in terms of external arguments, and transitives and unaccusatives in terms of internal ones. However, this type of system cannot be incorporated into the present analysis, because it does not give us the constant element all verbs have in common. Namely, from the above we see that if we take into consideration the external argument, unaccusatives are the odd ones out. Nevertheless, if the internal argument is considered, it is possible to equate all verbs. Although at first sight it seems to be the case that unergatives are the odd ones out, if Burzio's Generalisation is considered we find that all verbs can be equated. As mentioned above, if thematic subjects are associated with accusative case assignment, this then means that this should also hold for unergatives. Elsewhere in this thesis it has been mentioned that these intransitives often have cognate objects. In order to illustrate this, two types of unergatives have been mentioned in this investigation: the cognate object unergatives of the *dream* type and the group of specified object unergatives which contains verbs of consumption such as *eat* or *drink*. That these two types can have cognate objects I illustrate below:

- (202) a. Dream a beautiful dream.
b. Eat food.

Therefore, from this we can conclude that it is from the perspective of the internal argument that transitives, unergatives and unaccusatives can be aligned as I illustrate below where the covert internal argument of unergatives has been represented in italics:

(203)

transitive	(x (y))
unergative	(x (y))
unaccusative	((y))

This alignment of unergative verbs together with transitives and unaccusatives in terms of internal arguments seems reasonable for a number of reasons: First, if unergatives are interpreted as having covert internal arguments, it provides an explanation for the fact that the Germanic type of resultative only allows these covert object unergatives if a fake-reflexive or dummy-object is present. (as mentioned in Chapter IV, section 4, 4. 1 and Chapter V, section 5. 2. 4). Secondly, this alignment of verbs at argument structure is important, if we consider the phenomenon of grammaticalisation. Here it is precisely the resultative construction mentioned earlier which tells us that this process is connected in some way to the internal argument and what becomes relevant at this point, is the perfective / resultative ambiguity mentioned in the previous section. Although this issue will be developed further in section (6. 2. 4) below, I will advance now that this ambiguity will provide the motivation for the unified account of auxiliary selection in terms of the lexicalist analysis of Heavy Merger. As mentioned repeatedly throughout this thesis, Heavy Merger involves the situation where auxiliaries enter into scope or parasitic relations with the arguments of their embedded predicates. This was applied in the previous chapter to the analysis of the Modern Spanish 'tener' participial resultative. In section (6. 2. 4) below I will return to this issue and I will propose that although resultatives and perfectives are related in that they both undergo Heavy Merger, it is the case that they are differentiated as to how this Merger operates. However, for now I will continue with the characterisation of Old Spanish as a system involving Lexical auxiliaries. In the following section I will first give the last feature characterising Lexical auxiliaries which according to Lema and Rivero (1991) and Lema and Rivero (1991, 1994) is participle agreement. In addition, in connection with the latter I will introduce the issue of the resultative / perfective ambiguity. Finally, in section (6. 2) I will turn to the two features I proposed in Chapter IV where involved at the lexical level in the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries: I will provide a more detailed account of the perfective/resultative ambiguity and the strength of the *be* paradigm in connection with auxiliary selection.

6. 1. 2 Participle Agreement.

In Chapter IV (4. 3. 3) we saw that languages where perfectives display the feature of auxiliary selection this is also coupled by the appearance participial agreement (cf. examples in 92 to 94). In Old Spanish we find that this agreement is available always where the auxiliary is 'ser' (as in 199 above). In contrast, with 'aver' it is almost never present where the object is in its canonical post-verbal position. This we find illustrated in (200b) above where the plural object 'todos nuestros ponimientos' appears coupled with the masculine singular (-do) default form of agreement (in the sense of Corbett 1991). Nevertheless, this situation changes whenever the objective DP has been moved out of its post-verbal canonical position. Namely, as illustrated below, participle agreement is always present whenever this objective DP has been extracted in the context of objective relativization and objective cliticization as illustrated below:

- (204) a. ... e de sus campañas aquellas que avien dexadas.
... and of his troupe-fem.pl those-fem.pl that have-past.3pl leave-part.fem.sg.
... and of his troupes those that they had left (behind).

(CMC: vs. 3278)

- b. La avemos veida e bien e percibida.
Her-acc.cl.fem.sg have-1pl see-part.fem.sg and well perceive-part.fem.sg.
We have seen her and perceived her well.

(ARM: quoted in Lapesa 1980: 213)

Furthermore, participle agreement is also commonly found where the objective DP simply appears to be fronted either to the left of the participial VP or to the left of the whole ['aver' + participle] complex. This we find illustrated in (205a) where the objective DP 'su cosa' appears in between 'aver' and the participle 'acabada' and in 205b) where the object 'todas las tierras' appears fronted to the left of the whole complex.

- (205) a. El infant, quando ovo su cosa acabada, ...
The-masc.sg child-masc.sg, when have-past.3.sg his-sg thing-fem.sg finish-
part.fem.sg.
The child, when he had his thing finished.

- b. Quando todas las tierras ovo en paz tomadas.
 When all-fem.pl the-fem.pl land-fem.pl have-past.3.sg in peace take-
 part.fem.pl.
 When all the lands he had in peace taken.

(LA: st. 245)

To conclude, for Old Spanish we have just seen that participle agreement is always present whenever the objective NP is not in its canonical post-verbal D-Structure position. Especially from the data provided in (204) we see that in Old Spanish participle agreement is a strong feature. This has been connected in Alarcos (1988) to the fact that Old Spanish perfectives are often still ambiguous between a resultative and a perfective reading. This takes us to the characterisation of Old Spanish as a system of Lexical auxiliaries. In Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 1) it was mentioned that one feature characterising Lexical perfective auxiliaries is the fact that in the languages allowing these, perfectives are often ambiguous between a perfective and a resultative reading. In sections (6. 2. 1) and (6. 2. 2) below we will see how this applies to Old Spanish in more detail. However, for the moment I will return to the issue of participle agreement and how this fares with the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries. In relation to the latter, in Chapter V (section 5. 1. 1) the agreement pattern found in the resultative construction was described as being much more consistent than the one found in perfectives. An important difference between the two patterns, is that agreement in the former construction is to be found also in cases where the objective DP appears in post-verbal position (cf. examples in 135). Now, although for perfectives, the more characteristic type of agreement pattern in this latter context is the one with the default '-do' form as illustrated above in (200), in Old Spanish we also find examples where participle agreement is present where the DP appears in post-verbal position. This I illustrate in (206) (examples from Rivero 1991: 272-273)

- (206) a. Et auedes perdudos los parientes et los amigos.
 And have-3.sg loose-part.masc.pl the-masc.pl relative-pl and the-masc.pl
 friend-masc.pl .
 And you have lost relatives and friends.

(ESP: II 152v52)

- b. Tu as oida la mi oration ...
 You have-2.sg hear-part.fem.sg the-fem.sg my-sg prayer-fem.sg.
 You have heard my prayer.

(PIC: 30r14)

- c. Et pos que auemos departidas estas cosas.
 And after that have-1.pl discuss-part.fem.sg these-fem.sg thing-fem.sg.
 And after we have discussed these things.

(AST: 8r53)

- d. Otros muchos logares de que auemos escriptos los nombres.
 Other-masc.pl many-masc.pl places-pl of that have-1.pl write-part.masc.pl
 the-masc.pl name-masc.pl .
 Other many places of which we have written the names.

(ESP: 18v51)

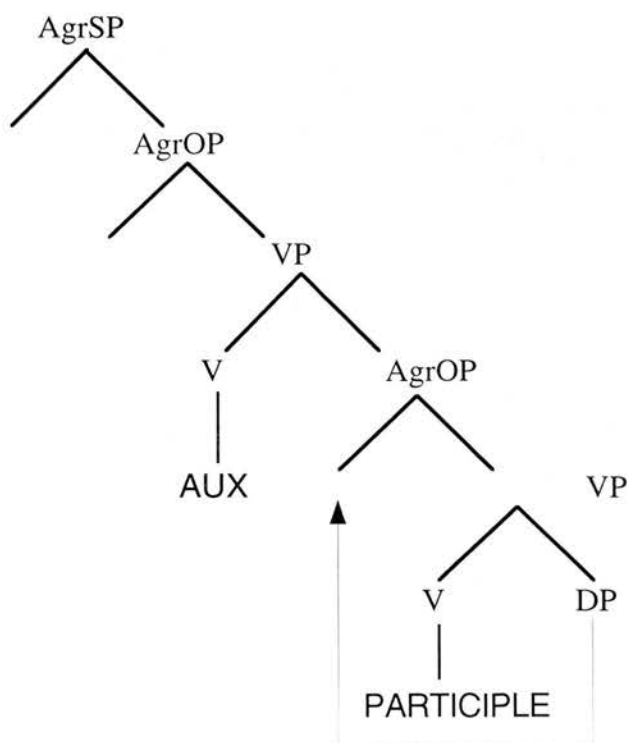
As mentioned repeatedly throughout this thesis I will not be concerned directly with the issues related to participle agreement. Nevertheless, in Chapter IV (section 4. 3. 3) I referred briefly to this property of participle agreement. It was mentioned that in the Principles and Parameters framework for examples such as (205) where the objective DP appears to have moved out of its canonical post-verbal position, it is generally assumed that participle agreement is triggered as the result of the movement operations. However, what was not mentioned then was that the literature also assumes that the participles displaying the agreement pattern illustrated in (204) and (206), project into syntax as Small Clause structures within the confines of an AGR^{OP} projection (in the sense of Kayne 1985, 1989 and Chomsky 1988). In section (4. 3. 3) of Chapter IV it was also mentioned that in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1992, 1995), participial agreement is explained in connection with feature checking. Although I did not go into detail into this issue then, I will now briefly elaborate on this. In this later version of the generative approach to linguistic description feature checking is regulated by Checking Theory. The aim of this area of the grammar is to eliminate the Principles and Parameters version of Case Theory based on the structural relation of government and to treat accusative case assignment in a similar way to nominative case assignment under the sisterhood configuration of specifier head agreement. Functional heads license lexical categories and these functional heads are made up of abstract morphological features which project their own functional projections. AgrS, AgrO, T(ense), C(omplementizer) and D(eterminer) are the main functional heads which are

generally understood to be relevant for Checking Theory.

For instance, AgrS has a nominative feature and the subjective DP also has a nominative feature. This feature is then checked, when AgrS and the DP find themselves in the right structural relation. If the features are not checked, then the derivation crashes and the sentence is ungrammatical.

In addition, for objective DPs we can make a similar correlation. Also under the configuration of specifier-head agreement, accusative case is said to be assigned to the objective DP by AgrO. Furthermore, prior to this to happening, this DP has to move out of its VP internal position to the specifier of AgrO and then have its accusative case features checked. In applying the latter to the characterisation of participle agreement in Muxi (1995) it is mentioned that in languages where objective clitics and wh-phrases trigger agreement (such as Italian as seen in Chapter IV and Old Spanish described in the present chapter), it is the case that perfective structures project two AgrOPs for feature checking purposes as I illustrate in the simplified structure below :

(207)



In (207) we find represented the fact that languages where participle agreement is present in *have* perfective structures, two AgrOP projections are present. On the one hand, the lower AgrOP is needed for the participial objective agreement

morphology. In contrast, the higher AgrOP is licensed by the auxiliary *have*. Here it is an accusative case assigner and its specifier position is required as a landing site for the objective DP which moves out of its (lower) VP-internal position into the specifier of AgrOP, in order to have its accusative case features checked. The movement through the lower ArgOP specifier position then triggers agreement and the movement through the higher ArgOP checks the accusative case feature of the objective DP.

In contrast, for the examples in (206) where participle agreement is found where the objective DP is in post-verbal position Rivero (1991) provides the following explanation. Examples like (206) above are characterised as instances where participial agreement has been triggered but no "apparent movement" (Rivero 1991: 272) has taken place. In this explanation Rivero (1991) follows Kayne (1989). This latter work discusses similar examples found in other Romance languages and claims that although no apparent movement seems to have taken place, it is still the case that these post-verbal objects are not in their canonical object position. More specifically, Kayne (1989) proposes that in examples like those in (206) above, the objective DP appears to have been extraposed or scrambled to the right from the Small Clause subject position to which they had originally moved to, in an earlier derivation. Hence, participial agreement is then taken to be triggered via the same mechanism mentioned above for the standard agreement environments where the object appears preverbally (i. e. objective cliticization relativization, etc, illustrated in 205). Now, as mentioned above, in this investigation I will not be concerned with whether participial agreement is triggered or not (as in 204 and 205), or whether the objective DPs in (206) have been scrambled. Instead, I will just follow the general trend in the literature and assume that participle agreement structures project into syntax as Small Clause structures within the confines of an AGROP projection as illustrated in (207). This will become relevant below in section (6. 2. 4) below when discussing how Old Spanish perfectives project in the syntax. Nevertheless, in particular with reference to the examples in (206), I will assume that these bear witness to the process of grammaticalisation. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 6) it was shown how the verbs initiating the resultative to perfective transition are mental state, reporting verbs and verbs of perception. (206b) involves the verb of perception 'oir' (*hear*) and (206c) the reporting verb 'departir' (*discuss*). More specifically, we saw how verbs like these initiate the process whereby an object-oriented construction becomes a subject-oriented one, which was related to the reanalysis of the resultative to perfective. I will defer the discussion of how this process takes place for now and return to it in section (6. 2. 5) below where I show how these verbs are responsible of disengaging the parasitic relation between auxiliaries and the arguments of the embedded predicates. Nevertheless, for now I will continue with another issue connected to grammaticalisation which is the perfective /

resultative ambiguity and the strength of the auxiliary selection rule. These two properties, we have seen are related to the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries. This I will discuss in more detail in section (6. 2. 2) below, but before this issue can be presented, in section (6. 2. 1) I will discuss a problem related to the denotations of 'ser' and 'aver' in Old Spanish.

6. 1. 3 Summary.

In this section I started off by presenting Old Spanish as a language which forms perfectives by means of auxiliary selection. I returned briefly to the explanation of this phenomenon in connection with the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) and Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986). In addition I also returned briefly to Den Dikken's (1993) proposal to explain auxiliary selection in terms of the telic/atelic verb distinction. Both approaches were rejected in the light of the cross-linguistic variation which in Chapter IV was connected to the phenomenon of grammaticalisation. In order to be able to account for this phenomenon I proposed to provide a unified account of auxiliary selection which is also able to incorporate the Lexical / Functional distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). Finally, we saw how Old Spanish also follows the participial agreement pattern of languages with Lexical auxiliaries. It was mentioned again that this will not be the focus of this Chapter either, but instead that I would concentrate on the remaining features characterising Lexical auxiliaries which were proposed in Chapter IV: the perfective/resultative ambiguity and the strength of the auxiliary selection rule.

6. 2 Old Spanish as a System with Lexical Auxiliaries.

6. 2. 1 Verbs of Possession and Locatives in Old Spanish.

As mentioned earlier, the interpretation of 'tener' involved in these transitive based resultatives is the *hold* interpretation. Now, for Old Spanish, it is not very clear from the literature, whether this interpretation is one that is relevant for Old Spanish 'aver'. According to Lapesa (1980) in Old Spanish the verbs of possession 'aver' and 'tener' appear to be in complementary distribution. In terms of semantics the

former showed the tendency to occur in connection with the inchoative denotation of *obtain* or *achieve*. In contrast, 'tener' was the verb generally used in connection with *have* possessive predications and most importantly the durative *hold* sense. This semantic contrast I illustrate in (208)⁷⁸:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (208) | <p>Cuando vos tuve en mis brazos</p> <p>no vos supe servir, no,</p> <p>Y agora que vos serviría</p> <p>no vos puedo haber, no.</p> | <p>When I had you in my arms</p> <p>I did not know how to serve you.</p> <p>And now that I would serve you</p> <p>I cannot have you.</p> |
|-------|--|--|

Secondly, also as Lapesa (1980) notes both 'aver' and 'tener' in Old Spanish differ in what types of objects are allowed in the context of each other. The former appears mainly with abstract types of objects such as 'aver pavor / duelo / hambre' (*to have fear / sorrow / hunger*). In contrast, 'tener' tends to occur with more concrete nouns as 'un sombrero que tiene' (*a hat that he has*) (Lapesa 1980: 215). Therefore from the above we can then conclude that if the *hold* interpretation is not available for 'aver', it is not possible to explain why resultatives can be formed with this verb. However, from the findings of this investigation, it is not certain whether the situation depicted in Lapesa (1980) is as clear cut. Namely, numerous instances where 'aver' occurs in a denotation other than the inchoative *obtain* as well as with non-abstract objects were also encountered. These I will illustrate briefly below. In (209a) we see how 'aver' occurs with the concrete objective DP 'tres hijos' (*three children*) and in (209b) we also see an instance where this verb has a clear *hold* interpretation:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| (209) | <p>a. Un rey moro avía tres hijos.</p> <p>A-masc.sg king-masc moorish-masc.sg have-past.3.sg three son-masc.pl</p> <p>A Moorish king had three sons.</p>
<p>b. a la casa de Berlanga posada presa la han.</p> <p>to the-fem.sg house-fem.sg of Berlanga sit-part.fem.sg captive-fem.sg</p> <p>her-fem.sg.acc.cl have-3.pl.</p> <p>At the house of Berlanga seated captive they have her.</p> |
|-------|---|

(CMC: vs. 2875)

⁷⁸ "Romance de la Rosa Fresca" in (208) above, quoted in Resnick (1981: 122), the translation is my own .

In turning to the 'ser' and 'estar' locative copulas we find a similar situation of complementary distribution. In Old Spanish we find both copulas represented, but it is also the case that their functions are not yet as delimited as in Modern Spanish. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 5) we saw how 'estar' (*contingent be*) in Modern Spanish occurs in the context of locatives. Now from (210) below we see how this is excluded for 'ser' (*inherent be*) in Modern Spanish:

- (210) * El libro es en la mesa.
 The-masc.sg book-masc.sg be-3.sg on the-fem.sg table-fem.sg
 The book is on the table.

However, in Old Spanish the situation is somewhat different. In the context of predicate locatives, we find both 'ser' and 'estar' represented as I illustrate below:

- (211) a. En sus tierras somos.
 In his-pl land-fem.pl be-1.pl
 In his lands we are.

(CMC: vs. 1103)

- b. Salúdavos mio Çid allá onde él está.
 Great-3.sg-to-you-dat.cl.1.sg mio Çid there where he be-3.sg.
 Mio Çid greets you there where he is.

(CMC: vs. 1398)

As we see from (211a) and (211b), the contrast between the two types of predicate locative structures appears to be related to the [\pm animate] subject distinction (cf. Pountain 1985). Namely, as illustrated in (211) it is common to find [+animate] subjects in the context of locatives with 'estar' and their [-inanimate] counterparts in the context of 'ser'.

Furthermore, both the fact that in Old Spanish 'aver' can have the *hold* interpretation and 'ser' shares the denotation of concrete location with 'estar' is important for their inclusion into the resultative paradigm. The reason is related to what was mentioned in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 5) in connection with statives. More specifically, there we saw how *hold* and other positional verbs were classified as dynamic states (in the sense of Carlson 1981 and Pustejovsky 1989). These were characterised as verbs where the referential properties of their internal arguments can

never delimit the event. Instead dynamic states can be categorised as delimiters themselves. Therefore, these verbs enter the resultative paradigm in their capacity of delimiters. In order to illustrate this point, I will briefly return to the 'tener' participial resultatives. In this context, we saw how the denotation associated with 'tener' is the locative *hold* interpretation. Under this interpretation, 'tener' is then aspectually a dynamic state and we saw how it enters the paradigm in order to delimit the activities denoted by the participles. The result was the creation of semantically composite arguments at argument structure.

For Old Spanish 'ser' we can now make a similar correlation. In Chapter V (section 5. 3. 3) we saw how both perfective adjectives and the participles involved in periphrastic resultatives occur most naturally in the context of 'estar'. These were illustrated in (178) which I repeat below for convenience:

- (212) a. El cubo está /*es lleno.
 The-masc.sg bucket-masc.sg be-(cont).3.sg/*be-(Inh).3.sg/ full-masc.sg
 The bucket is full.
- b. El libro está /*es leído.
 The-masc.sg book-masc.sg be-(cont).3.sg/*be-(Inh).3.sg read-part.masc.sg.
 The book is read.

Examples such as the ones above are nothing other than the Modern Spanish equivalent of the unaccusative based periphrastic resultative. Therefore, from the fact that 'ser' was able to appear in the context of locatives (as illustrated in 211a) this enables its classification as a dynamic state. As a result, it is possible to claim that 'ser' then enters the resultative paradigm in its capacity of delimiter. Finally, according to Yllera (1980), this situation where resultative can be formed with both 'ser' and 'aver' coincides with a general very low incidence of constructions where 'estar' and 'tener' occur in combination with participles (of the type illustrated in Chapter V). These latter verbs do not enter the paradigm fully until the XIVth. century. Furthermore, this can also be correlated with the situation that, as often noted in the literature on the subject (Saussol, 1978, Escobedo 1993), in Old Spanish the distribution of 'ser' encompasses many of the environments where in Modern Spanish 'estar' is present. In the following section I will turn to this resultative paradigm and we will see how in Old Spanish perfectives are characterised by the resultative/perfective ambiguity. In addition, we will also see that this ambiguity arises in the context of verbs with delimiting internal arguments.

6. 2. 2 Old Spanish Perfects are not so Perfect.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 2. 1) it was mentioned that in some languages perfectives are ambiguous between a resultative and a perfective reading. This ambiguity was mentioned to be relevant for both *be* and *have* and that it arises in the context of change of state verbs (Bybee et al. 1994). I will call these change of state verbs achievements. In the Spanish linguistic tradition (Saussol 1978, Yllera 1980, Alarcos 1980 and Harre 1991) the resultative / perfective ambiguity has also been described for Old Spanish. However, Yllera (1980) and Alarcos (1980) also note, it is not always clear to determine when a certain construction is a perfective or a resultative. The reason for this uncertainty, I propose to be related to the fact that the ambiguity arises not only in the context of achievement verbs but also in the context of accomplishment/activity verbs, a fact that is not generally recognised in the literature.

First, where the auxiliary is 'ser' below I provide the following examples where according to Yllera (1980) a clear resultative reading can be gleaned (examples from Yllera 1980: 221-222):

- (212) a. Vayamos posar, ca la cena es adobada.
Go-subj.1.pl sit-Inf, that the-fem.sg dinner be-3.sg ready-part.fem.sg.
Let's go to sit, that the dinner is ready.
(CMC: 1531)
- b. Todos se cuedan que ferido es de muort.
All se-reflex.cl stay-3.pl that injure-part.masc.sg be-3.sg of death-fem.sg.
They all stay because he is deadly injured.
(CMC: vs. 3688)
- c. La camara era toda fecha de alabastro ...
The-fem.sg chamber-fem.sg be-past-3.sg make-part.fem.sg of alabaster-masc.sg.
The chamber was all made of alabaster.
(TROY: 180)

In addition, below I also provide some examples where a resultative reading is also possible with 'aver':

- (213) a. avían esas gentes los <cuer>es demudados
 have-past.3pl those-fem.pl people-pl the-masc.pl heart-pl change-part.masc.pl.
 Those people had their hearts changed.

(PFG: st. 8)

- d. ... desde la ha ganada.
 ... after her-acc.cl.fem.sg have-3.sg conquer-part.fem.pl
 ... after he had her conquered .

(LBA: st. 97)

In (212) 'adobada' (*ready*) and 'ferido' (*injured*) can be classed as change of achievement denoting participles. In contrast, 'fecha' (*made*) in (212c) is an activity. In (213) both 'demudados' (*changed*) and 'ganada' (*conquered*). Therefore from the examples above we see that the resultative / perfective resultative occurs in the context of both achievements and activity verbs.

Furthermore, Alarcos (1980) mentions that in the context of structures formed with 'aver', this ambiguity becomes most apparent where participial agreement is present. In this work the significance of this agreement is not explained further, but in order to illustrate this, the following examples are provided. In (214a) we see an example where the objective DP appears pre-verbally, in (214b) we see one where the object appears post-verbally (examples from Alarcos 1980: 40):

- (214) a. Sea aquello que Dios ha establecido.
 Be-subj.3.sg that-masc.sg which God have-3.sg establish-part.masc.sg
 Be that which God has established.

(LA: st. 1282)

- b. Assaz avedes fechas faziendas muy granadas.
 Enough have-2.sg do-part.fem.pl deeds-fem.pl very important-fem.pl .
 You have enough very important deeds done.

(LA: st. 1342)

Earlier it was mentioned that the resultative agreement pattern was characterised as being consistently present, especially in the context where the objective DP appears postverbally (cf. examples in 135). Therefore, especially from (214b) where the

objective DP *'faciendas muy granadas'* (*very important deeds*) appears in post-verbal position and where this is coupled with objective participle agreement, it would be possible to claim that here we are dealing with a resultative. However, when examining the objective DP, it is not very clear whether (214b) could be classed as a construction of this type. In Chapter V (section 5. 2. 6) we saw how the *'tener'* participial resultative was subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint which disallows cumulative (bare plural, mass) DPs in the context of verbs classified in terms of aspect as activities. In (214b) the objective DP *'faciendas muy granadas'* is a bare plural (a cumulative NP) and *'fechas'* (*made*) is an activity verb. Therefore, if participial resultatives are subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint, then examples with bare plural DPs such as *'faciendas muy granadas'* should be excluded from a resultative interpretation in principle. Nevertheless, I will propose that example such as the ones in (214b) bear witness to the resultative / perfective ambiguity which in this thesis has been related repeatedly to the process of grammaticalisation. Especially, examples such as the ones involving bare plurals will tell us what is involved in this process. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 6) we saw how the transition from resultative to perfective is characterised in Bybee et al. (1994) as the process where the specificity associated with the resultative is eroded. I characterised this change further, as being related to the weakening of the object-orientedness characteristic of resultatives (cf. Chapter IV, section 4. 2. 3 and Chapter V, section 5. 2. 2). Furthermore, the weakening of this characteristic, I proposed to be connected to the weakening of the aspectual properties of the internal argument. The aspectual properties of internal arguments were related to how these were involved in the phenomenon of aspectual composition. Three types of internal arguments were proposed: delimited, delimiting and non-delimiting internal arguments (Chapter IV, section 4. 5. 3). Below I repeat how this distribution of internal argument types is involved in the grammaticalisation from resultative to perfective in the context of *be* (from page 100).

BE:	change of state	> delimited internal argument
	arrive-class of movement	> delimited internal argument
	roll-class of movement	> delimiting internal argument
	run-class of movement	> delimiting internal argument
	stative	> non-delimiting internal argument

Here we see how the strongest verbs in aspectual terms are achievement verb which are the ones with delimited internal arguments. We have seen previously how achievement verbs are not affected by the cumulative / quantized DP contrast and

this makes them the strongest and less flexible verbs from the point of view of aspect. These achievements are then followed by activities which as we see from above, have delimiting internal arguments. We saw that delimiting internal arguments are the ones that can affect the aspectual type of verbs and it is this very characteristic that I proposed made these verbs aspectually variable. Finally, stative verbs are the weakest verbs in aspectual terms. The reason being because as mentioned above, these are never affected by the referential properties of their internal arguments. Statives can never have a delimited interpretation. However, I will leave these statives aside for the moment and I will now provide transition from resultative to perfective for 'aver' .

In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 6) we saw how the grammaticalisation process of the *have* resultative comes about via the combination of *have* with mental state verbs, verbs of perception and reporting verbs illustrated above. However, I also proposed that this process is proceeded by a weakening of the object oriented property in very much the manner of what we have seen described above for the *be* paradigm. From previous investigation we know now that the first step involves change of state verbs (illustrated in Chapter V for the 'tener' adjectival resultative). These are then followed by activity and accomplishment verbs (as illustrated in Chapter V for the 'tener' participial resultative). Below I illustrate how this happens.

HAVE:	change of state	> delimited internal argument
	activity/accomplishment	> delimiting internal argument

Here we see how the weakening process of the internal argument of the 'aver' resultative can also be connected to the delimited / delimiting internal argument contrast. This weakening process then, I propose, favours the process where an initially object-oriented construction becomes a subject-oriented one. Because it is not until the objective DP can appear an aspectually weaker variable one, is it possible to include the mental state verbs, etc. into the paradigm. In Chapter V I characterised the 'tener' participial resultative as an instance where the Lexical auxiliary enters into a parasitic relation with the arguments of the embedded predicate and we saw how this crucially involves the objective DP. Now, in order to bring about the erosion of the specificity associated with the resultative (Bybee et al. 1994) and then become a subject-oriented construction, there also has to occur a process that releases the parasitic relation between the auxiliaries and the arguments of embedded predicates. I will return to this issue in section (6. 2. 5) below where I will characterise this as the situation where a Functional auxiliary enters into a parasitic relation with the whole of the embedded predicate. In Chapter III (section 3. 1. 1) , this situation was characterised as involving the mechanism of Light Merger.

Nevertheless, in returning to the matter at hand, the fact that this objective DP becomes weakened in the manner presented above, I propose to be responsible for the resultative / perfective ambiguity. Additionally, this ambiguity becomes most noticeable in the context of delimiting internal arguments and the reason I propose is because these internal arguments are aspectually variable.

To conclude then, we can now characterise the perfective / resultative ambiguity as a function of the verb involved and the type of internal argument DP. Especially from example (214b) above, we see that it occurs in the context of accomplishment / activity verbs because they are aspectually variable. This in turn, is related to the weakening process of the internal argument. This conclusion as a result, contradicts the view held in the literature mentioned at the onset of this section, that the resultative / perfective ambiguity occurs in the context of achievement (change of state) verbs. As we have seen repeatedly throughout this investigation, this aspectual type is the strongest and less flexible type of verb in aspectual terms. This property makes them the most resistant type to change. For instance, is often the case that isolated instances of resultatives still remain in the context of these verbs as illustrated below for English⁷⁹.

(215) Peter is gone.

Therefore, since these are the last verbs to leave the paradigm it is also likely that the ambiguity does not occur in this context. In section (6. 2. 4) I will employ this resultative / perfective ambiguity in order to relate these constructions at argument structure in terms of the mechanism of Heavy Merger. This then takes us back to the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries. In Chapter IV I proposed that in languages where the resultative perfective ambiguity is prevalent this is often coupled by a strong auxiliary selection rule which was related to the consistency of the *be* selection paradigm. This will be the subject of the following section where we examine the verbs involved in this paradigm and where I will present how this fares with Old Spanish '*ser*' selection.

6. 2. 3 The Old Spanish Auxiliary Selection Paradigm.

In Chapter IV (sections 4. 4. 3) I characterised a system with Lexical auxiliaries as one where *be* selection is consistent throughout the whole of the unaccusative class. In contrast, a system with Hybrid auxiliaries was characterised as one where *be* selection is less consistent and *have* selection is more widespread among the latter

⁷⁹ See also Table I on page 84 on this issue.

class of intransitives. Furthermore, I characterised this contrast between auxiliary selection patterns as strong and weak respectively. In section (4. 5. 6) I mentioned that this contrast is related to the properties of the verbs themselves. But most importantly, this contrast between strong and weak auxiliary selection systems I related to the role played by statives. More specifically, by whether statives are included or not in the *be* selection paradigm. This in turn, we saw was connected to grammaticalisation and more specifically to the process whereby *have / be* selection type patterns, become a *have* only system. First we saw that in this process statives were the last to enter the perfective paradigm in the reanalysis of resultative to perfective. Secondly, we also saw how these also we the first ones to leave the *be* paradigm in the *have / be* to *have* transition in the system of compound tense formation. Therefore, in the light of the latter, it seems reasonable to base the strong / weak auxiliary selection contrast on whether statives are included in the *be* selection or in the *have* selection paradigm. In what follows we will see how this fares for Old Spanish and how this correlates with the resultative / perfective ambiguity discussed in the previous section. Additionally, also in what follows I will base my findings on Benzing (1931) which up to date, is the most comprehensive study auxiliary selection in Old Spanish. However, before I continue with this I will first briefly summarise the types of unaccusative verbs we saw in Chapter IV were to be expected under *be* selection. Throughout Chapter IV (and also repeated in section 6. 1. 1 above), we saw how the group of unaccusative intransitives are generally described as comprising mainly verbs with change of state, stative and verb of movement denotations. In aspectual terms, change of state verbs were characterised as achievements (cf. section 4. 5. 3). In section (4. 5. 4), verbs of movement were subdivided as the arrive-class, roll-class and run-class (in the sense of Levin and Rappaport 1992). The arrive type of verb, was categorised as belonging to the aspectual class of achievements. In turn, the run- and roll-class as activities. The former being categorised as unaccusatives and the latter as unergatives, but being able to act as unaccusatives in certain circumstances. Finally, states belong to the aspectual class of statives.

I will firstly deal with achievement type of unaccusatives and below I illustrate how these invariably select for '*ser*'. In (216a) we find a change of state achievement verb such as '*aparesçer*' (*appear*) and in (216b) '*salir*' (*come out*) is a verb of movement belonging to the arrive-class.

- (216) a. Agora es la ora de seyer aparesçida.
 Now be-3.sg the-fem.sg hour-fem.sg of be-Inf appear-part.fem.sg
 Now is the time to have appeared.

(Appoll. 486d, Benzing 1931: 408)

- b. Como era salido de presion de paganos.
 As be-3.sg.past come-out-part.masc.sg of prison-masc.sg of pagan-masc.pl
 As he had come out pagan prisons.

(Bercero: S. D. 729d, Benzing 1931: 403)

Furthermore, among the activity type of verbs we find alternations. This is particularly relevant for the run-class of verbs of movement. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 4) we saw how these verbs were characterised by Levin and Rappaport (1992) as unergatives but could act as unaccusatives in certain contexts and in the area of auxiliary selection these would alternate between *be* and *have* selection. In Old Spanish we find that these alternations also occur among this class of verbs, as I illustrate below for '*correr*' (*run*):

- (217) a. Tan mal fueron corridos, ...
 So badly be-3.pl run-part.masc.pl
 They had run so badly, ...

(Alix. 997 a, Benzing 1931: 404)

- b. Quando ouo corrido, todos se maravillavan
 When have-3.sg.past run-part.masc.pl, all se-reflex.cl astonish-3.pl
 When he had run, they all were astonished,

(Cid 1590, Benzing 1931: 404)

In (217a) we see how '*correr*' selects for '*ser*' and in (217b) we see how the same verb selects for '*aver*'. And now, I turn to statives which in Old Spanish generally appear in combination with '*ser*' as I illustrate below for '*folgar*' (*rest*) and '*ser*' as an abstract state and '*estar*' :

- (218) a. Solo que y plegasse luego serie folgado.
 Only that there-loc.cl get-down later be-3.sg.subj rest-part-masc.sg
 If only he would have got down there, he would have rested.

(Berceo: S. D. 599d, Benzing 1931: 410)

- b. el que todos tiempos era seydo vencedor.
 the-masc.sg one all times be-3.sg.past been-part.masc.sg the winner-masc.sg.
 the one that all times had been the winner.

(S. Juan de la Peña, p. 78, Benzing 1931: 442)

- c. ... et de compte Daragon les eran estado[s] dados.
 ... and from count Daragon them be-3.pl.past be-part.masc.pl give-part.masc.pl
 ... and by count Daragorn these had been given

(S. Juan de la Peña, p. 30, Benzing 1931: 442)

However, Benzing (1931) also notes one example of 'ser' /'aver' alternation among statives which I illustrate below:

- (219) a. El Çid e sos hyernos en Valencia son rastados.
 The Çid and his sons in law in Valencia be-3.pl stay-part.masc.pl.
 The Çid and his son in law have stayed in Valencia.

(Cid 2270, Benzing 1931: 410)

- b. Toda esa ganancia en su mano ha rastado.
 All-fem.sg that-fem.sg profit-fem.sg in his hand-sg have-3sg stay-part-masc.sg.
 All that profit has stayed in his hand.

(Cid 1733, Benzing 1931: 410)

From (219a) we see how the stative verb 'rastar' (*stay*) occurs together with 'ser' and in (219b) we see how the same verb occurs in the context of 'aver'. This situation, however, is unexpected because all other stative verbs featured in Benzing (1931) invariably occur with 'ser'. Nevertheless, I have to point out that there is a difference between these two examples which could give us an indication of which contexts statives start to select for 'aver'. Namely, 'rastar' in (219b) refers to an abstract state as opposed to (219a) where this state is a locative. If we compare these with stative verbs of perception and verbs of cognition, which we saw earlier, started the process of grammaticalisation for *have* perfectives and which were classed as stative states, we might find some correlation. However, this is just speculation and would require further investigation which is beyond the scope of this thesis. But from the auxiliary selection pattern presented above we can conclude that since 'ser'

selection appears to be consistent throughout the whole of the unaccusative class, especially since it includes statives, it is possible to conclude that Old Spanish can be categorised as a strong auxiliary selection paradigm. In addition, if we take into the equation the fact that Old Spanish perfectives are also subject to the perfective / resultative ambiguity we can then conclude that this is in fact, a system of Lexical auxiliaries. In the following section I will briefly to the issue of selectional restrictions we saw was relevant for the characterisation of Lexical auxiliaries and we will see how this applies to perfective auxiliaries. Furthermore, in the following section I will characterise the Old Spanish perfect as involving the licensing mechanism of Heavy Merger. In addition, in the light of the resultative / perfective ambiguity, I will return to the issue of selectional restrictions and the characterisation of resultatives in terms of Heavy Merger. As proposed above (in section 6. 1. 2), the result will be a unified account of *have* / *be* selection.

6. 2. 4 Old Spanish Auxiliary Selection as Heavy Merger.

In Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) I proposed that Lexical auxiliaries were characterised in terms of grammaticalisation as somewhere in between a lexical verb and a functional element. An important thesis of this investigation is that these auxiliaries import some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in. Throughout this investigation, we have seen repeatedly how selectional restrictions are important for the determination of whether auxiliaries have argument related information in their lexical entry. As such, Lexical auxiliaries have been characterised as having arguments which need to be licensed in some way. The way proposed in this investigation is by entering into scope or parasitic relations with the arguments of their embedded predicates. In what follows, I will start off by determining what the selectional restriction is related to for perfective Lexical auxiliaries and then I will proceed with the analysis of Old Spanish as involving the mechanism of Heavy Merger.

Inspired by the fact that perfectives are related to resultatives through grammaticalisation, in Chapter IV (section 4. 1. 1) it was proposed that the selectional restriction for Lexical perfective auxiliaries is connected in some way to objective DPs (or internal arguments). The study of the Modern Spanish participial resultative in Chapter V gives us the necessary tools to formulate this latter property more accurately. Most notably, the selectional restrictions for the '*tener*' periphrastic participial resultative apply to both the subjective and the objective arguments. In section (5. 1. 1) we saw how participial resultatives were possible only with [+human] subjects. However, the most important issue developed in this

investigation has been to determine the selectional restrictions concerning the objective DP, since resultatives are semantically object-oriented constructions and the objective DP is a highly specialised argument (cf. sections 5. 2. 2 and 5. 2. 6). That this object is so highly specialised manifests itself through the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. It is by virtue of this constraint that cumulative DPs are excluded from participial resultatives (also see previous section on this issue). This in turn is a consequence of the fact that this objective DP is a semantically composite argument at argument structure. I will return to this issue below, but for now I will apply the latter selectional restrictions to the area of perfectives. First, if we turn to the subjective arguments, from (219b) we see that the [+human] restriction of resultatives does not apply: the DP '*toda esa ganancia*' (*all that profit*) is a [-human] subject.

However, when examining the selectional restriction in relation to the internal argument, the situation is not as straightforward. Perfectives are not subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint and this becomes apparent from example (214b) where '*faciendas muy granadas*' (*very important deeds*) is a bare plural cumulative DP which appears in the context of activity/accomplishment verbs. As a result, from the latter we can now characterise the objective DP of a perfective as being less specialised than its resultative counterpart.

In Chapter IV it was proposed that because of the perfective / resultative ambiguity, Lexical perfective auxiliaries share the object-orientedness feature of resultatives. The question now, is how is it possible to make such a claim especially in the light of the fact just mentioned that the internal argument DP of a perfective construction is less specialised than its resultative counterpart. The answer I propose is to be found in the resultative/perfective ambiguity itself and because of this perfectives and resultatives are related. And it is in relation to this ambiguity I maintain the claim that both perfectives and resultatives share some sort of object-orientedness feature. Nonetheless, the perfective DP is less specialised, it appears to be necessary to reformulate the issue of object-orientedness in order to make this property more general. Let us return briefly to the issue of grammaticalisation which will clarify the latter.

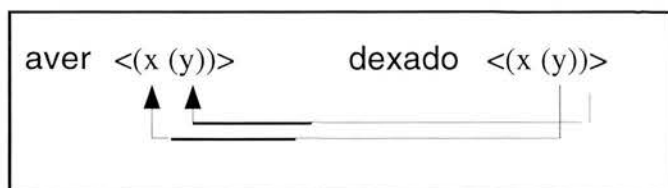
In section (4. 5. 6) of Chapter IV one aspect involved in the grammaticalisation of perfectives, is the object-orientedness feature of resultatives which becomes weakened as a result of this process. One informal way to formulate this weakening process is by assuming that the object-orientedness feature becomes the more general feature of "internal argument-orientedness". The issue that is involved here, is the one that lies at the heart of the paradox created by the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) based on Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986). This paradox is related to the syntax / argument structure mismatch involved in the characterisation of the unaccusatives (Manning 1996). Bearing on the latter, an

unaccusative grammatical subject was characterised in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 1) as an internal argument at argument structure rather than an object. Additionally, as illustrated in (203) all verbs can be described as having an internal argument at argument structure, but not all verbs can be described as having a direct object in the syntax. In other words, the concept of internal argument then covers unaccusatives, transitives and unergatives. In contrast the concept of direct object only covers transitives and unergatives and excludes unaccusatives⁸⁰. From this we can then conclude that the the notion of internal argument is much more general than the notion of a direct object. As a result, since perfective constructions involving Lexical auxiliaries are less specialised constructions than their resultative counterparts, it seems reasonable to reformulate the object-orientedness feature in terms of the more general internal argument-orientedness feature. This then means that we can now define the selectional restriction involved in perfective Lexical auxiliaries as the less specialised version, of requiring an internal argument. This is precisely the feature that will be employed in the analysis of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish.

Bearing on the latter, I now propose that what 'ser' and 'aver' do in their capacity of perfective Lexical auxiliaries is enter into parasitic relations with the arguments of their embedded predicates. This type of relation is nothing other than the mechanism of Heavy Merger. Below I illustrate how Heavy Merger applies to both 'ser' and 'aver' selection In (220a) we find illustrated *have* selection as Heavy Merger for the transitive perfective structure 'aver dexado' (*have left*) of (200b). In (220b) the unergative perfective 'aver soñado' (*have dreamed*) of (200a) where the unergative verb appears with a covert object and in (220c) we find the unaccusative perfective Heavy Merger structure for 'ser ido' (*have gone*) of (199). Furthermore, in these Merger structure we also see how the alignment of transitives, unaccusatives and unergatives in terms of internal arguments proposed in section (6. 1. 1) plays an important part.

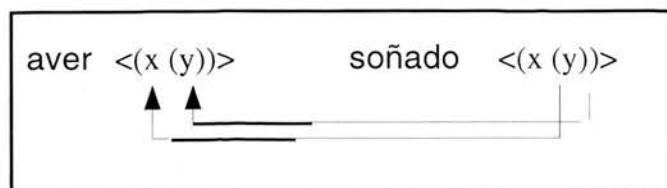
(220)

a.



⁸⁰ For unergatives this is done in relation to the assumption that these verbs have a cognate covert object as mentioned in section (6. 1. 1) above.

b.



c.



In (220a) we find represented how both the internal and external arguments of transitive 'dexar' merge with the internal and external arguments of 'aver'. In (220b) we find a similar situation for unergative 'soñar'. However, here I have to point out that as mentioned earlier (in section 6. 1. 1), this latter verb is a cognate object unergative which has an optional the objective DP. As a result of this optionality, the Merger of internal arguments also becomes optional in this context and as we will see below this will become an important feature distinguishing resultatives and perfectives. Lastly, in (220c) we see how the sole internal argument of unaccusative 'ser' Merges with the sole internal argument of the embedded unaccusative participle 'ido'.

The type of approach to auxiliary selection in terms of Heavy Merger makes sense as it is reminiscent of the basic idea of what is involved in an unaccusative diagnostic (Levin and Rappaport 1992, 1995). As mentioned in Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 1), unaccusativity diagnostics highlight that the argument functioning as a grammatical subject of certain verbs is actually an internal argument at argument structure. Heavy Merger by establishing parasitic relations with the internal arguments not only does this, but it unites *have* and *be* selection under the same mechanism. However, before finishing with the latter what still remains to be established is how to distinguish resultatives from perfects, since both constructions involve Heavy Merger.

The answer I propose is related two issues: First, the difference between a resultative and a perfective it is determined at argument structure in terms of how Merger operates. Secondly, as we will see below, the difference is also reflected in the syntax.

In order to explain the first issue, I will now mention that the difference between a perfective and a resultative is determined by which arguments are taken to Merge obligatorily and which ones optionally. For instance, in section (5. 1. 3) it was

mentioned that for 'tener' participial resultatives identification of subjects is optional (cf. example 141). As a result of this optionality, in section (5. 3. 7) Heavy Merger was interpreted as optional for external arguments. In contrast, for internal arguments it was taken to be always obligatory. The reason given was because this internal argument is a semantically composite argument which is required for the aspectual interpretation of the construction (cf. section 5. 3. 5).

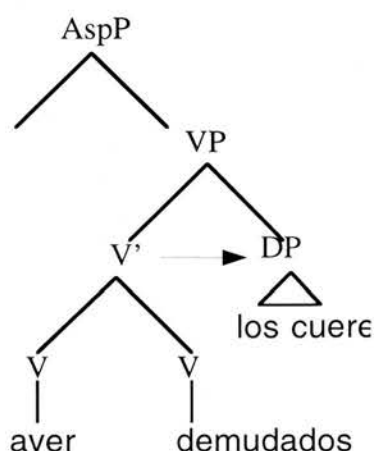
For perfectives the situation can be described as being somewhat different. One important characteristic of perfectives is that for these constructions there is always identity of subjects. In consequence, this affects Merger in that it can be taken to be always obligatory for external arguments. This obligatory nature of the Merger of external arguments, then favours the grammaticalisation of perfectives from an object-oriented construction to a subject-oriented one. However, when considering the internal arguments the situation is rather different.

First, for unaccusative 'ser' based perfectives the Merger of internal arguments is always obligatory: the internal argument of the embedded unaccusative verb will always merge with the internal argument of 'ser'. The reason for this obligatory nature of Merger can be drawn from the more general fact that auxiliaries always have to lean on the interpretation of another predicate and the way I proposed is by entering into parasitic relations with the arguments of another predicate (cf. Chapter III, section 3. 3. 1). 'ser' being unaccusative has only one argument and it has to Merge obligatorily with the arguments of its embedded predicate. This property will make 'ser' selection highly specialised and less productive in terms of grammaticalisation. I will leave this issue aside for now and return to it in the following section.

In contrast, for transitive 'aver' complexes Merger of internal arguments can be described as optional in certain contexts. For instance, the most obvious example of this optionality is the case of the covert object unergatives (illustrated in 220b). In Chapter V (section 5. 2. 1) these intransitives were excluded from participial resultatives. The reason given for this exclusion was related to the fact that these have non-affected arguments which were classed as non-delimiting arguments. The latter then takes us to the most important difference between a perfective and a resultative merged internal argument. The former as opposed to the latter, is not involved in the phenomenon of compositional aspect. This difference between perfectives and resultatives in connection to the phenomenon of compositional aspect then, immediately raises the question of why would we still have to analyse both constructions as involving the mechanism of Heavy Merger at argument structure ? The answer is that this unified analysis at argument structure is required by the resultative / perfective ambiguity. Nevertheless, because the Merger of internal arguments in perfectives is not motivated aspectually, then it is possible to

describe this type as "looser" than the one involved in resultatives. This will be important for the initiation of the grammaticalisation process. As soon as identity and Merger of subjects is established, this then provides the right conditions for the release of the internal argument by the auxiliary and initiate the process by which an object-oriented construction becomes a subject-oriented one. This process will be discussed in more detail in the following section in connection with Modern Spanish perfectives. However, now I will address the second question which is related to how resultatives and perfectives are distinguished in the syntax. In order to answer this, I propose that perfectives and resultatives become disambiguated in the syntax and an important facet is the different functions of the objective DPs. In Chapter V (section 5.3.7), I proposed that participial resultatives project as complex predicates within the confines of an Asp(etc) node (in the sense of Egerland 1998) which carries the affectedness feature (cf. structure in 198). I now propose a similar analysis for the resultative complex 'avian ... demudados' (*had changed*) of (213a).

(221)

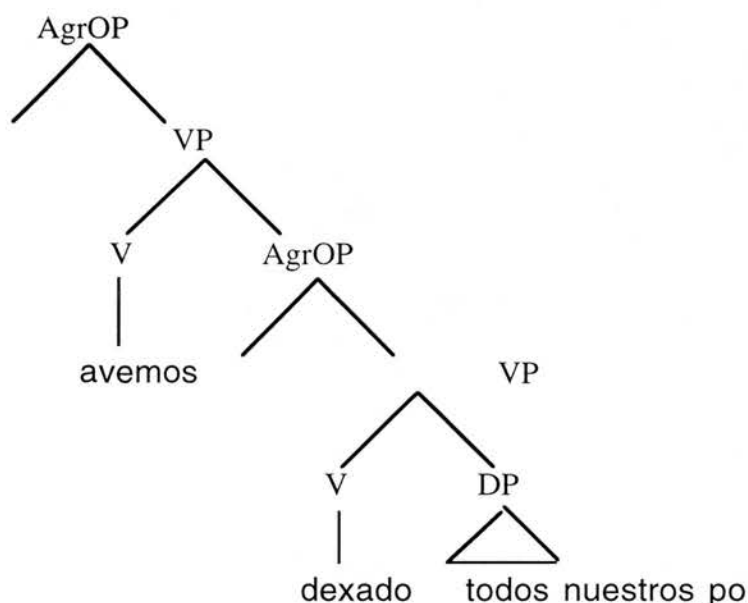


In (221) we see how the Lexical auxiliary 'aver' and the participle 'demudados' (*changed*) from a complex predicate and then license together the objective DP 'los cueres' (*the hearts*). This will account for the fact that this DP is a semantically composite argument.

For perfectives in contrast, since these involve non-delimited and non affected argument DPs, these do not require an Asp(etc) node in order to project into syntax. Instead, as mentioned in (section 6.1.3) above, perfective participles project within the confines of an AgrO projection. Furthermore, as proposed by Muxi (1995) (discussed in section 6.1.3), because Old Spanish belongs to the group of languages where objective clitics and wh-phrases trigger agreement, perfective structures

project two AgrOPs for feature checking purposes. This we find illustrated in the simplified tree structure in (222).

(222)



The contrast between the resultative structure in (221) and the perfective structure in (222) reflects that the perfective / resultative contrast also involves the contrast between a semantically composite and a non-semantically composite argument. This result seems strange at first sight, especially since both perfective and resultative internal arguments undergo Heavy Merger at argument structure. However, this becomes easily explained, if we take into account that because of the grammaticalisation process, resultatives and perfectives need to be related at some level. Therefore, by relating these constructions at argument structure, by extension, this also explains why the perfective / resultative ambiguity arises in the first place. Nevertheless, these constructions become disambiguated in the syntax and the structures in (221) and (222) bear witness of this fact.

Finally, in order to close this section I will briefly return to the issue of auxiliary selection. Namely, we can now conclude that an account of 'ser' and 'aver' selection in terms of Heavy Merger is desirable, because it provides a unified analysis of auxiliary selection. Also as proposed in section (6. 1. 2) above, this type of analysis also takes into account the lexical properties of the auxiliaries involved. Finally, the mechanism of Merger in general, will also accommodate the grammaticalisation process whereby a Lexical auxiliary becomes a Functional one further. Throughout this investigation I have mentioned repeatedly that this process involves the weakening of the internal argument of the auxiliaries. Now, after having

seen in this section that Heavy Merger becomes optional in certain cases (as for instance for unergatives) we can now characterise the weakening of the internal argument as involving the release of the parasitic relation between the auxiliary and the arguments of the embedded participle. The effect of this releasing of parasitic relations between arguments will have as a consequence, the fact that the auxiliary becomes a Functional one. In Chapter III (section 3. 3. 1) we saw how Functional auxiliaries engage in the parasitic relation of Light Merger which involves not the arguments themselves, but the whole of the proposition denoted by the embedded predicate. In order to conclude this investigation, in the following section I will describe briefly how this can be applied to the analysis of Modern Spanish perfectives.

6. 2. 5 Functional Auxiliaries and Grammaticalisation.

Functional auxiliaries were described in Chapter IV (section 4. 3. 1) as appearing in the context of non-auxiliary selecting languages. This means that all syntactic and semantic types of verbs use the same auxiliary, usually some form of *have*, in the formation of compound tenses. Its Modern Spanish equivalent is '*haber*' and in (223) we find illustrated the contexts where it combines with transitive '*comer*' (*eat*), unergatives '*dormir*' (*sleep*) and unaccusative '*llegar*' (*arrive*).

- (223) a. He comido manzanas.
 Have-1.sg eat-part.Ø apple-fem.pl.
 I have eaten apples.
- b. Juan ha dormido.
 Juan have-3.sg sleep-part.Ø.
 Juan has slept.
- c. Pepita y María han llegado.
 Pepita and María have-3.pl arrive-part.Ø.
 Pepita and María have arrived.

Therefore, from the examples above see that the perfective pattern associated with Functional auxiliaries, is characterised by the inclusion of unaccusatives into the domain of *have*. In the literature all efforts seem to focus on the explanation of the principles underlying the auxiliary selection rule discussed in great detail above

(section 6. 1. 1, also see Chapter IV). However, from the ample body of research devoted to this issue, it is never clear what mechanism is responsible for allowing these unaccusatives into the paradigm of *have* in non-auxiliary selecting languages. In this thesis I will interpret the inclusion of unaccusatives, in relation to the phenomenon of grammaticalisation. More specifically, it concerns the phenomenon by which a *have/be* selection type system becomes one where *have* is the only auxiliary in the formation of compound tenses. In turn, this is related to the phenomenon by which Lexical auxiliaries become Functional ones which, as concluded in the previous section, I propose to be related the release of the parasitic relation between the auxiliary and the arguments of the embedded participle.

Modern Spanish '*haber*' is the most grammaticalised form of its counterparts in the Romance languages. So much so, that it has sometimes been described in the literature as a clitic (Rivero 1994). This has sometimes been connected to the fact that in Modern Spanish '*haber*' does not function as a main verb of possession (Lois 1989). However, what is not often acknowledged is that it still functions as main verb in the existential construction as illustrated below:

- (224) Hay libros en la mesa.
 Have-3.sg.los.cl book-masc.pl on the-fem.sg table-fem.sg.
 There are books on the table.

Therefore, from this we can ascertain that at the abstract level what remains of '*haber*' is the locative denotation. We have already seen that the notion of locations is central to the grammaticalisation path of perfectives (cf. Chapter II, section 2. 2. 3). As a consequence, from this sole fact we can assume that Modern Spanish '*haber*' is a Functional auxiliary in the sense of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). Bearing on the latter, the second property characterising systems with Functional auxiliaries is related to the incidence of participial default morphology (in the sense of Corbett 1991). From (223) above, we see that in root environments participial agreement is consistently the default '*-ado/-ido*' form. Similarly, participial agreement is also this default form with transitive verbs in derived environments. I illustrate this below in (225a) where direct object DPs have been substituted by accusative clitic pronouns and in (225b) for objective relative clauses.

- (225) a. *Los* he comido.
 Them-fem.pl.acc.cl have-1.sg eat-part.ø
 I have eaten them.

- b. Las manzanas que he comido estaban verdes.
 The-fem.pl apple-fem.pl that have-1.sg eat-part.ø be-3.pl green-pl
 The apples I have eaten were unripe.

From all the examples above, we see that regardless of the syntactic type verb, or whether we are dealing with root or derived structures, participial morphology is consistently the default form '-ado/-ido'. Now, as mentioned repeatedly throughout this thesis the contrast between object agreeing and default participle morphology will play a lesser role in this investigation. Here instead, I will be concerned with how 'haber' becomes a Functional auxiliary and in order to do so, I will return to the discussion concerning the phenomenon of grammaticalisation. In the previous section we have seen that the grammaticalisation path of perfectives involves the weakening of the object-orientedness feature characteristic of resultatives. For auxiliaries this comes together with the weakening of the internal argument which leads to the release of the parasitic relation between auxiliaries and the arguments of the embedded predicates. The purpose of what follows is show how this process takes place.

In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 6), it was mentioned that constructions involving stative verbs of perception, mental states and reporting verbs play an important part in the phenomenon where the component of possession was weakened for *have* (Harre 1991, Penny 1991, Bybee et al. 1994). The weakening of the meaning component of possession can now be reinterpreted in relation to the phenomenon of the weakening of the internal arguments mentioned above. In the literature, it is never clear why examples involving the above mentioned verbs are so important in this process. In Chapter IV (section 4. 5. 3) we saw how stative verbs are aspectually weak in that they can never be delimited by the referential properties of their objective DPs. This makes these verbs highly adaptable. Both in Chapter IV and section (6. 2. 3) above, this was the reason provided then for the fact that these are both the last to be included into the *be* unaccusative paradigm and the first to leave it. Now, for the *have* paradigm, I now propose that stative verbs of perception, mental states and reporting verbs are important, because they aid in the release of the parasitic relation between the auxiliaries and the arguments of the embedded predicates. This in turn, will precipitate the weakening of the object-orientedness feature of the resultatives construction in its initial stages of grammaticalisation. In order to show how this should be so, let us examine these verbs more closely. Below I return to the example involving in 'tener' and the verb of perception 'oir' (*hear*) (example 226b is the same as 134c).

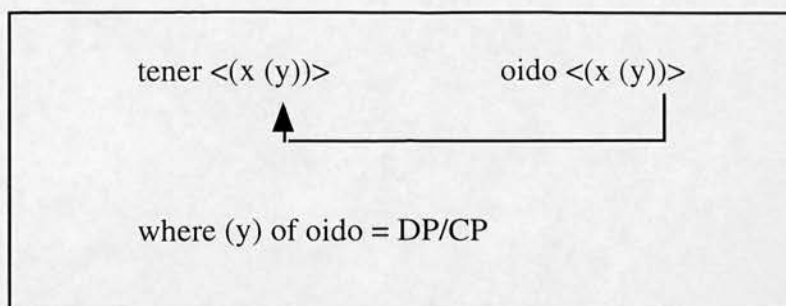
- (226) a. Tengo oidas las sonatas de Bach.
 Have-1.sg hear-part.fem.pl the-fem.pl sonatas-fem.pl of Bach..
 I have heard Bach's sonatas.
- b. Tengo oido que en Timbuktu hace mucho calor en verano.
 Have-1.sg hear-part.masc.sg that in Timbuktu make-3.sg much heat-sg in
 Summer-masc.sg
 I have heard that in Timbuktu it is very hot in Summer.

From (226a) and (226b) we see that what characterises these verbs is that in addition to nominal complements, these verbs can also take propositional complements. In Chapter V (section 5. 2. 1) we saw how verbs of perception were excluded from the Germanic type of resultative (cf. example 145d and 145e). And from (226a) we see that these are however, allowed in the context of the Modern Spanish type of periphrastic resultative. Although this seems strange at first sight, the fact that examples like (226a) can be classed as related to the resultative, can be derived from its distribution in the context of 'muy'. Bearing on the latter, in Chapter V (section 5. 3. 2) we saw how the resultative denotation was associated with intensifying (*very* denotation) rather than distributive (*many times* denotation) 'muy' (cf. examples in 175). From (227) we see how in the context of objective DPs the intensifying interpretation of 'muy' is also possible.

- (227) Tengo muy oidas las sonatas de Bach.
 Have-1.sg very hear-part.fem.pl the-fem.pl sonatas-fem.pl of Bach.
 I have heard Bach's sonatas very much.
 (meaning: I have heard Bach's sonatas to exhaustion)

Therefore, in the light of the evidence presented in (227) above we can now say that these examples involving verbs of perception can be included into the 'tener' paradigm at some level. I now propose that the connection is to be at argument structure in terms of Heavy Merger. We have seen how this involves the parasitic relation between arguments. Furthermore, by the same token when referring to the propositional argument represented in (226b) we can make a similar claim. However, instead of involving the arguments themselves I propose that the parasitic relation incorporates the whole of the embedded predicate. This I illustrate in the Merger structure below in (228) where we also find the specification that the internal argument can be both a DP and a propositional CP.

(228)



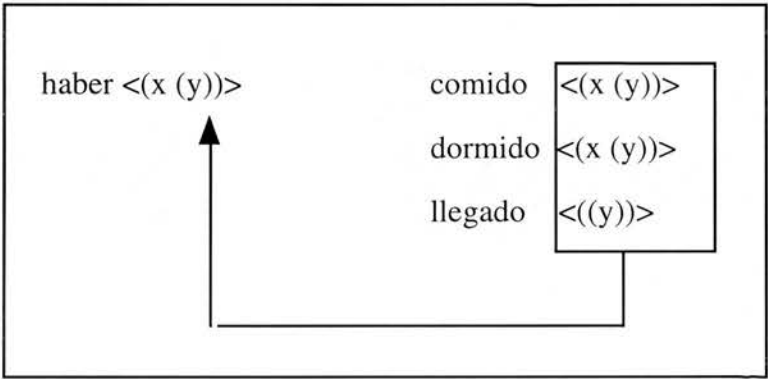
In (231) we see how the internal argument (y) of 'tener' merges with the internal argument of the participle 'oido'. Furthermore, this merger structure also represents that the internal argument can be either a DP or a CP. This in turn, is important for the weakening process of the object-orientedness feature of the resultative which comes about in connection with two issues.

On the one hand, the weakening process comes about through the Merger of the internal argument of 'tener' with the internal argument DP of the embedded predicate 'oido'. Being aspectually stative, this verb allows both cumulative and quantized DPs which are non-delimiting objective DPs. As mentioned repeatedly, these are the DPs which do not affect the aspectual interpretation of the sentence. Therefore, most crucially, this means that when 'tener' combines with these verbs of perception the construction allows the presence of quantized DPs without a resultative interpretation. And this, I propose, initiates the weakening process of the object-orientedness feature of the resultative and by extension, the process of grammaticalisation into a perfective.

On the other hand, the Merger of the internal argument of 'tener' with the propositional complement initiates the process by which the parasitic relation between the auxiliaries and the individual arguments is broken off. Instead, it is the whole of the propositional complement that enters into a parasitic relation with the auxiliary. This situation was described in Chapter III (section 3. 1. 1) as involving nothing other than the mechanism of Light Merger. As a result, we can now conclude that 'tener' in the context of verbs of perception allows both Heavy and Light Merger parasitic relations without a resultative interpretation. Therefore, I now propose that the latter relation between auxiliary and embedded predicate, is the one that is relevant for the analysis of Modern Spanish perfectives. From the examples presented in (223) we have seen that the Modern Spanish compound tense

formation system is characterised by the inclusion of unaccusatives into the paradigm of 'haber'. Furthermore, from section (5. 2. 5) of the previous chapter we know that participial *have* based resultatives are characterised by a strict transitivity requirement and these latter unaccusatives are disallowed in general. This is important, because it then tells us that in order for unaccusatives to be included into this paradigm, the Lexical auxiliary has to release the parasitic relation with the internal argument of the embedded predicate. And the inclusion of these verbs of perception, mental states and reporting verbs are required for this reason. In (229) I illustrate how Modern Spanish 'haber' undergoes Light Merger with the participles 'comido' (*eaten*), 'dormido' (*asleep*), 'llegado' (*arrived*) presented in (223) and this involves the whole of the argument structures of embedded predicates.

(229)



In the structure above we find represented the fact that the embedded predicates as a whole unit enter into a parasitic relation with the internal argument of 'haber'. As a consequence, the parasitic relation between arguments represented by Heavy Merger is broken off and the embedded predicate is able to have any type of argument in its domain. Most importantly, this concerns the unaccusative internal argument. Finally, as mentioned above, this process where the arguments are released then precipitates the grammaticalisation process. Since the auxiliary does not have a parasitic relation with the arguments themselves, this then favours the fixation of the construction and the subsequent grammaticalisation of 'haber' into its extremely Functional auxiliary status.

Therefore, to conclude we can now characterise the mechanism of Merger in

general, as one which provides a unified account of both *have/be* selection and *have* selection at the lexical level. This in turn, explains how the grammaticalisation process of these constructions takes place and most importantly, it shows how this process succeeds through the internal argument. Nevertheless, these issues will be presented in more detail in the following chapter. For now, I will close this investigation by first summarising what we have seen so far in this section and by presenting some conclusions in section (6. 3).

6. 2. 6 Summary.

In this section I started off by showing how in Old Spanish the denotation of '*aver*' and '*ser*' are such that they are allowed in the context of resultatives. In addition, we have also seen how perfectives are ambiguous between a perfective and a resultative reading and we have seen that this is possible in the context of both '*ser*' and '*aver*'. Furthermore, in section (6. 2. 2) we have seen that the ambiguity is context dependent and it becomes most noticeable in the context of delimiting internal arguments. These are the ones which were characterised in Chapter IV as appearing in the context of activity/accomplishment type of verbs. The resultative object is a delimiting DP and its perfective counterpart is a non-delimiting one.

In addition, in section (6. 2. 3) we saw how Old Spanish is a strong auxiliary selection system where *be* selection is consistent throughout the whole class of unaccusatives. Because of the ambiguity, the classification of Old Spanish as involving such a strong system crucially revolves around the presence of statives in the '*ser*' selection paradigm.

As a result of the fact that Old Spanish perfectives are subject to the resultative/perfective ambiguity and the fact that it also has a strong auxiliary selection system, '*ser*' and '*aver*' were characterised as Lexical auxiliaries. As such, in section (6. 2. 4) in similar vein to what was proposed for resultatives in Chapter V, I proposed that '*ser*' and '*aver*' then enter into a parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicates. Because of the resultative / perfective ambiguity it has been proposed that these constructions are related at argument structure in terms of Heavy Merger. The difference, however, was characterised in terms of how Heavy Merger operates. For resultatives Merger for internal arguments is crucial and obligatory and for external ones optional. In contrast, for perfectives

the reverse situation is true. Merger for external arguments is obligatory and for internal ones it is optional. Finally, in order to close this investigation I also showed how Heavy Merger becomes Light Merger through grammaticalisation and how this can be applied to Modern Spanish 'haber' perfectives.

6. 3 Conclusion.

In this chapter I followed up the proposal presented in Chapter IV of characterising Old Spanish as a system involving Lexical auxiliaries. In addition, I examined all the properties involved in the characterisation of Lexical perfective auxiliaries.

First, I started off by presenting Old Spanish as a language which forms perfectives by means of auxiliary selection. In the light of the cross-linguistic variation presented in Chapter IV, I proposed to account for this phenomenon in terms of a unified account of auxiliary selection which also incorporates the Lexical / Functional distinction of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994).

Secondly, we have also seen how Old Spanish also follows the participial agreement pattern of languages with Lexical auxiliaries. Participle agreement is always present in the context of 'ser' and in the context of 'aver' it is always present where objective DPs undergo movement operations. Furthermore, we have also seen examples where this agreement is also present where the objective DP remains in its canonical post-verbal position. These examples I proposed, bear witness of the resultative / perfective ambiguity which in section (6. 2. 2) we have seen is possible in the context of both 'ser' and 'aver'. The ambiguity is context dependent and it becomes most noticeable in the context of delimiting internal arguments.

Finally, in section (6. 2. 3) we have seen that Old Spanish is a strong auxiliary selection system where 'ser' selection is consistent throughout the whole class of unaccusatives, especially stative verbs.

Therefore, since 'ser' and 'aver' follow the pattern of Lexical perfective auxiliaries, in section (6. 2. 4) it was proposed that 'ser' and 'aver' undergo Heavy Merger with the arguments of their embedded predicates. As described by Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994), in section (6. 2. 5) we saw how Modern Spanish follows the pattern of Functional auxiliaries in the formation of compound tenses. In this pattern, the only auxiliary is 'haber' and all verbs select for it. In addition, this is coupled with the incidence of default '-ado/-ido' participial

morphology.

In order to conclude, an analysis of Old Spanish in terms of Heavy Merger accounts for two things: First, it provides a unified lexicalist account of *have* / *be* selection at argument which at the same time takes into account the lexical properties of auxiliaries.

Secondly, in the light of the resultative / perfective ambiguity, Heavy Merger also accounts for the relation between resultatives and perfectives at the level of argument structure and by extension, it provides a medium to explain the process of grammaticalisation of perfectives. This in turn, we have seen leads to the process whereby a Lexical auxiliary becomes a Functional one which then enters into the parasitic relation of Light Merger. In the following chapter, I will conclude this investigation by providing an overview of all the issues seen throughout this thesis in connection with the grammaticalisation process of perfectives and the auxiliaries involved.

Chapter VII

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter is to present the most important conclusions that have emerged from this investigation in connection with the grammaticalisation process of the Spanish perfective construction. This process in the first instance, involves a rule change where the perfective emerges out of the reanalysis from an earlier resultative construction. In addition, this rule change operates in a way that it affects the semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological levels. For instance, in semantic terms, the most salient change for this resultative to perfective drift is that a construction with a present state interpretation where this state has been brought about as the result of past action, becomes one where the interpretation is associated with a past action with current relevance.

This resultative to perfective change in turn, also involves the drift from an initial object-oriented construction to a subject-oriented one and this affects the lexical properties of auxiliaries and the relation of the latter with their embedded predicates. This investigation has centred mainly around the issues involved in this second aspect concerning the grammaticalisation of perfectives. More specifically, the object-oriented to subject-oriented drift can be interpreted in terms of a general weakening process of the construction which in this investigation, has been related to the phenomenon of compositional aspect (Verkuyl 1972, 1989, Dowty 1979, Krifka 1989). The way the lexical properties of auxiliaries are effected by this change is

related to a process of desemantisation. For instance, for transitive *have* the most obvious consequence of this, is that this verb loses its objective DP. This change has been reinterpreted in terms of the Lexical / Functional auxiliary contrast of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994). Concomitantly, we find that one aspect involved in this contrast is a change of relations between auxiliaries and their embedded predicates which in this thesis has been interpreted as a change in scope relations. Now, although at first sight these changes seem to have been formulated separately, in actual terms they are interconnected and the main purpose of this chapter is to bring them all together and formulate them more precisely in relation to one another. Furthermore, we will see that what characterises these changes is that they are inextricably connected to argument structure. However, before I continue with this, I will first provide a general and brief overview of Romance perfectives and the typological issues involved.

Perfectives in Romance languages follow two typological patterns: on the one hand is the pattern where all syntactic and semantic types of verbs form their compound tenses with a single auxiliary. This is often some equivalent of *have* and this type of pattern is generally coupled with default agreement morphology (in the sense of Corbett 1991). Modern Spanish forms its compound tenses following this latter type of pattern.

In contrast, the formal feature of participle agreement, is to be found in the second pattern of compound tense formation. This is the one characterised by a split auxiliary system. *Be* and *have* are selected in a principled way by certain syntactic and semantic classes of verbs and this is the pattern followed by Old Spanish. Now, the contrast between *be* and *have* selection is generally connected in the literature to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978). This hypothesis states that there is a distinction between intransitive verbs in that the single argument of some of them is, in fact, an underlying object. As a result, the group of intransitive verbs is split into unaccusatives and unergatives. Furthermore, in the Generative tradition the Unaccusative Hypothesis is reinterpreted in connection with Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986) which establishes a connection between structural Case and the incidence of external arguments. This generalisation then provides a discrete two way distinction in terms of the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction to explain the unaccusative and unergative contrast: unaccusatives are characterised as having a non-thematic subject and are selected by *be*. Transitive and unergative verbs have thematic subjects and are then selected by *have*.

A different approach to the phenomenon of auxiliary selection is the one presented by Den Dikken (1993). This work based on an idea borrowed from traditional prescriptive grammars, proposes that auxiliary selection should be explained in connection with the aspectual notion of telicity. Telic verbs select for *be* and atelic ones select for *have* and this system also precludes a systematic and discrete

semantic contrast between verbs.

Now, both these two approaches to auxiliary selection based on the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction (Burzio 1981, 1986) and the one based on the telic/atelic distinction of Den Dikken (1993) have been rejected on several grounds in this investigation.

First of all, unaccusatives do not constitute a semantically uniform class. For instance, a Vendler-Dowty aspectual typology (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979) characterises change of state unaccusatives as achievements. According to Levin and Rappaport (1992), verbs of movement are divided into three subtypes: The *arrive*-, the *roll*- and the *run*-classes. The verbs categorised under the *arrive*-class are aspectually achievements and the *roll*- and *run*- classes are activities. Statives have been distinguished according to the dynamic / static distinction (Carlson 1981, Pustejovsky 1989) and it was proposed that unaccusatives are to be found mainly among the dynamic class.

Now, if we try to apply Den Dikken's (1993) approach and classify these verbs according to the telic / atelic distinction we find that achievement verbs are inherently telic, activities are atelic but can become telic compositionally at the sentential level. And finally, statives are always atelic both at the inherent and the compositional levels. Therefore, if for auxiliary selection *be* selection is determined by unaccusatives being telic verbs, it is not clear whether Den Dikken (1993) is referring to telicity from the point of view of the inherent semantics of the verbs, or from the point of view of aspectual composition. Furthermore, the most problematic verb class to accommodate to this approach, is the one composed by statives. Because these verbs are always atelic these would be left out of the equation under Den Dikken's (1993) approach. However, if we distinguish among statives it is possible to find a solution to why dynamic statives appear as unaccusatives from the perspective of compositional aspect. Dynamic states enter the *be* paradigm in their capacity of delimiters and this we have seen is important in connection with the process of grammaticalisation.

The latter takes us to the second objection to the above approaches to auxiliary selection. Namely, in this area, there appears to be a great deal of cross-linguistic variation. Most importantly, this variation seems to affect the above class of dynamic statives and the *run*-class of verbs of movement unaccusatives. For instance, we have seen how between Dutch and German there is variation among certain positional verbs (such as German '*bleiben*' *stay*) in example 101) which take *be* rather than the expected *have* under Den Dikken's (1993) approach. In addition, among verbs of movement (such as '*laufen*' *walk* or '*wandeln*' *walk* in examples 103 and 104 respectively) which in German take *be* and in Dutch *have*. Furthermore, between

Italian and French this variation also seems to occur in the context of statives (cf. table I on page 84). And again, this variation cannot be explained under the above approaches, because they preclude a discrete distinction among verbs. Furthermore, the conclusion that emerges from the above is that both the cross-linguistic variation in the area of auxiliary selection and the variation among the verbs themselves are interrelated in some way. More specifically, what is involved here is the transition from an auxiliary to a non-auxiliary selecting system which by extension is related to the phenomenon of grammaticalisation. That this is the case can be seen clearly in the contrast between Old and Modern Spanish presented in this thesis. Therefore, it is in connection with the latter, that the third and major objection to the above approaches to auxiliary selection emerges. Grammaticalisation is a dynamic phenomenon and it involves the notion of stages along a grammaticalisation path. Therefore, discrete systems cannot be employed in its explanation, as there is no way to explain how the stages in between succeed. This leaves us with the task of looking for a system that explains auxiliary selection which at the same time allows for the inclusion of stages of grammaticalisation.

The way to do this is by looking for what *have* and *be* selection have in common rather than what is different. The inspiration comes from the basic idea of what constitutes an unaccusative diagnostic. Namely, what all unaccusativity diagnostics do, is highlight that the argument functioning as the grammatical subject of certain verbs is an underlying object. However, this leaves us with the problem of having to define what is an underlying object. If we interpret the Unaccusative Hypothesis under Burzio's Generalisation the result is that this seems to create a paradox between what happens in the syntax and what happens at argument structure (Manning 1996). As a consequence, it is not very clear whether an unaccusative subject can be described as involving the rather specialised notion of "object". Namely, if direct objects are connected to accusative Case, only transitives and unergatives can have them. In the particular case of unergatives, this is based on the assumption that these can have covert objects (Laka 1993) and the most clear example of this is the group of specified object unergatives which includes verbs of consumption. Furthermore, accusative Case assignment is a process that happens in the syntax which leaves unaccusatives out of the equation. However, if we take into consideration the notion of argument structure, the situation that emerges is different. Argument structure refers to valency of verbs and here transitives, unergative and unaccusatives alike can be characterised as having internal arguments, but differ in that only unergatives and transitives have an external argument. Therefore, in the light of this paradox it seems reasonable to characterise an unaccusative grammatical subject in terms of the more general notion of internal argument at argument structure rather than the more specific notion of "object". Furthermore, it allows us to equate all verbs at argument structure in that they can all be characterised as

having an internal argument and this covers transitives unergatives and unaccusatives alike. This alignment of verbs at argument structure is relevant for the analysis to auxiliary selection presented in this thesis and this is a desirable approach especially in the light of the semantic variation among verbs presented above.

An additional point of interest raised by this paradox is that it presents us with the question of whether auxiliary selection itself is connected to some process taking place at argument structure. There are a number of issues pointing in this direction. First of all is the issue connected to unaccusative diagnostics. If as an unaccusative diagnostic, auxiliary selection singles out verbs which have an internal argument at argument structure, it seems reasonable to postulate that this manifests itself in that *have* and *be* have some sort of influence over this internal argument. The question now is how to define this issue of “influence over internal arguments”. The answer leads us to what is the main concern of this investigation which is to determine whether auxiliaries have in their lexical entry information that is related to arguments or participants. Bearing on this, the proposal of Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994) who distinguish between Lexical and Functional auxiliaries has been incorporated into this investigation. Lexical auxiliaries are to be found mainly in a system of compound tense formation which has the feature of auxiliary selection. Functional auxiliaries in contrast, are to be found in a *have* only type of system. This investigation has centred mainly around the study of Lexical auxiliaries because according to Lema and Rivero (1991) and Rivero (1991, 1994), these are the ones where it is most noticeable that there is lexical information connected to participants in their lexical entry. In addition, these works describe the main syntactic feature characterising these auxiliaries as being related to the fact that their embedded predicates are able to undergo VP-Preposing over a Weak Negative Island (in the sense of Ross 1983). Now, for practical reasons this diagnostic for determining the lexical properties of auxiliaries has been rejected and instead, evidence was found in connection with a different issue. Lexical auxiliaries import some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in. According to Jackendoff (1987) this is nothing other than essential information that a verb provides about its arguments and as a result, the feature of selectional restrictions has become an important property developed in this thesis. The issue of selectional restrictions is important for two reasons: on the one hand it points again in the direction of argument structure and on the other it helps to define the concept of “influence” as scope or parasitic relations between auxiliaries and embedded predicates.

In the area of perfectives it is not clear at first sight what the selectional restrictions should be related to. Lema and Rivero (1991) suggest that the selectional restriction for Lexical perfective auxiliaries is to be found in connection with the auxiliary selection rule itself. However, if we look for evidence of these restrictions in relation

to the thematic/non-thematic subject distinction based on Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1981, 1986) or even the telic/atelic contrast of Den Dikken (1993), the conclusion that emerges is conflicting. On the one hand, Den Dikken's (1993) approach can be rejected, because although the telic/atelic contrast can be characterised as some sort of selectional restriction, it does not tell us anything about argument related information which is what we are looking for. The reason is connected precisely to the fact that, as mentioned above, from this work it is not clear whether telicity is interpreted at the inherent or the sentential level and as we have seen throughout this investigation, it is the latter level which gives us the answer to this question.

On the other hand, Burzio's Generalisation does give us information related to arguments, but this information concerns the difference between verbs in terms of grammatical subjects. Although this discrete contrast could be interpreted in terms of some kind of selectional restriction, it is not very clear how to accommodate all the verbs into such a discrete system especially in the light of the variation among verbs and auxiliary selecting systems. In this investigation instead, the approach was taken that since all the variation points in the direction of the process of grammaticalisation of perfectives, it seems reasonable to assume that the evidence of selectional restrictions should be found in connection this phenomenon. Here, it is the periphrastic resultative construction involved in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives which gives us an answer to this question. This construction has been investigated in detail from its Modern Spanish counterpart where the periphrastic resultative involves the verb of possession '**tener**'. Here it combines with certain participles displaying the morphological feature of object agreement (person and number). It is a highly constrained construction where '**tener**' is a Lexical auxiliary. In returning to the issue of selectional restrictions, we find that the first selectional restriction one, is connected to the [+human] property of the subject. Nonetheless, the most important selectional restriction for this investigation concerns the special properties of the objective DP. These are both syntactic and semantic in nature and in some sense, follow from each other. From a syntactic point of view, the '**tener**' participial resultative construction is characterised by a strong transitivity requirement and as a result, the objective DP is always obligatory. This obligatory nature of the objective DP can also be supported semantically. First, this is a semantically object oriented construction where the objective DP always has to be an affected one. Secondly, from the point of view of aspectual composition, this objective DP always has to be a delimiting one. I have adopted a strict view of what is meant by this. Namely, delimiting DPs are the ones which have been characterised as affecting the aspectual interpretation of the sentence. More specifically, this refers to the alternation between quantized (definite and quantified) and cumulative (bare plural and mass) DPs (in the sense of Krifka 1989) which is only aspectually

significant for accomplishments and activities. This strict view of what constitutes a delimiting DP, excludes stative and achievement verbs from the equation, because these aspectual types are not affected by the referential properties of their objective DPs. A state is always a state whether its objective DP is quantized or cumulative and the same can be claimed for achievements. Therefore, the aspectual types of verbs allowed in the participial resultative construction are accomplishments and activities. And most importantly, the only types of DPs allowed are quantized ones. This is the basis of the Quantized Specific DP Constraint and the construction is constrained in such a way, because the direct object DP is a semantically composite argument of both the participles and 'tener'. Therefore, from the above we can conclude that the selectional restriction involved in the resultative construction mainly concerns the objective DP and it manifests itself in that 'tener' selects for verbs which have a particular type of objective DP. As a result, we can redefine this as the situation where the lexical auxiliary enters into some sort of scope relation with the arguments of its embedded predicates. This involves the subject, but most crucially, it involves the internal argument.

Now, in order to apply the latter to the area of perfectives we find that, as we have seen is the case for Old Spanish, in languages with Lexical perfective auxiliaries, this construction is often characterised by a resultative/perfective ambiguity. In consequence, it seems reasonable to assume that the periphrastic resultative construction tells us what the selectional restriction is related to for Lexical perfective auxiliaries. Since resultatives are object-oriented aspectual constructions, in the light of the ambiguity, this is also related in some way to the objective DP. Nevertheless, at first sight it is not very clear to see whether this correlation could be applied successfully. The main reason being that perfective objective DPs are not subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint and by extension this means that this objective DP is less specialised than its resultative counterpart. Nonetheless, in order to take into account the perfective/resultative ambiguity this problem can be overcome by reformulating the object-orientedness of resultatives in terms of the more general internal argument-orientedness for perfectives. This then leads to the conclusion that the selectional restriction for Lexical perfective auxiliaries can now be defined as the less specialised version of the requirement of an internal argument which again can be reformulated as a scope relation over an internal argument. This conclusion seems reasonable, because one aspect involved in the grammaticalisation path of perfectives is the erosion of the specificity associated with the resultative (Bybee et al. 1994) which is related to the general weakening process of the construction. A second feature characterising a system with Lexical auxiliaries is a strong auxiliary selection rule. This feature is less important in the determination of the lexical content of auxiliaries directly, but it serves to help ascertain the degree of

grammaticalisation of auxiliary selection systems. I will return to this issue below, but for now I have to define what the notion of scope relations between auxiliaries and embedded predicates is related to.

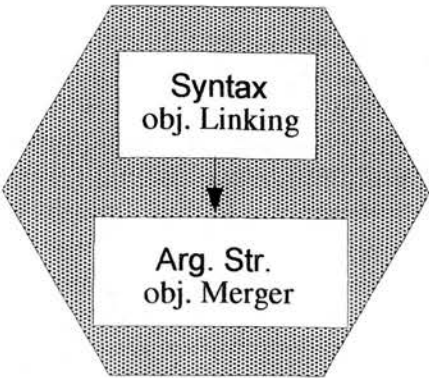
Now, if Lexical auxiliaries import some sort of selectional restriction into the construction they are involved in, and if the presence of this information means that these have argument information in their lexical entry, then the notion of scope relation is connected in some way to how these arguments are licensed. The answer proposed is that auxiliaries license their arguments in way which is similar to how this is done by their main verb counterparts. According to Speas (1990), a main verb licenses its arguments through the mechanism of Discharge. This implicates the licensing relation between a verb and its satellites as instantiated by the dependency involved in relations complementation. Nonetheless, in order to distinguish auxiliaries from main verbs this includes the added nuance that auxiliaries license their arguments by entering into some scope or parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicates. In this endeavour and again inspired by Speas (1990), two types of parasitic relations have been proposed in this thesis: Heavy and Light Merger. The first mechanism is the one relevant for Lexical auxiliaries, because these have argument related information in their lexical specification and Merger requires the link with concrete referential variables. Heavy Merger, then ensures that the auxiliary licenses its arguments through entering into a parasitic relation with the arguments of their embedded predicate. Furthermore, this is the way proposed to overcome the strict one-to-one correspondence between arguments and structural positions imposed by the Theta Criterion which disallows doubly theta marked syntactic positions in the generative framework. Through Heavy Merger auxiliaries are then able to retain their theta grids, because a single DP position can become the recipient of more than one theta role as long as these are assigned to the same position (Guasti 1996).

For instance, we have seen how Heavy Merger is relevant for both Modern Spanish resultatives and Old Spanish perfectives. This seems reasonable especially in the light of the fact that these constructions are connected through grammaticalisation. However, in order to accommodate the weakening process involved in the latter process, Heavy Merger is allowed to differ in the way it operates for both constructions. More specifically, for *have* based constructions the difference is determined by which arguments are taken to Merge obligatorily and which ones optionally. For periphrastic resultatives this is optional for external arguments but obligatory for internal ones. In contrast, for perfectives the reverse situation is true. Merger of external arguments is always obligatory but for internal ones it is optional. This difference accounts for the fact that for resultatives the Merger of internal arguments is obligatory because the objective DP is a semantically composite argument. In contrast, for perfectives the situation is different: the internal argument

is not a semantically composite argument. An immediate consequence of this contrast between participial resultatives and perfectives is that the former, but not the latter are subject to the Quantized Specific DP Constraint. Nevertheless, in the light of the ambiguity and the process of grammaticalisation, resultatives and perfectives need to be related somehow and this is precisely at argument structure. Finally, the fact that both constructions are related at argument structure in terms of Heavy Merger is important, because it provides a path for the explanation of grammaticalisation. This latter path becomes most apparent when considering Functional auxiliaries. For these auxiliaries, inspired by the fact that according to Speas (1990), functional categories undergo Theta Binding and need to be linked to abstract variables, I proposed that Functional auxiliaries enter into a parasitic relation with the whole of the embedded predicate. This mechanism was named Light Merger because it does not involve the arguments themselves, but the whole of the proposition of the embedded predicate. Light Merger was exemplified briefly for Modern Spanish which is characterised as being a non-auxiliary selecting system. Here '*haber*' selects for all syntactic and semantic types of verbs, but most importantly, this type of system is characterised by the inclusion of unaccusatives into the *have* selection paradigm. This inclusion is possible only because as a result of the process of grammaticalisation: the parasitic relation between '*haber*' and the embedded predicate becomes released and this is brought about by the inclusion of stative verbs of perception, mental states and reporting verbs into the *have* paradigm.

Therefore, from the above we can conclude that Merger is a mechanism which is productive in a number of ways. First, it provides a unified analysis of *have* and *be* selection. Secondly, it provides an explanation of how periphrastic resultatives and perfectives are related at argument structure and this lends support to the proposal that auxiliary selection is related to some process which takes place there. Finally, Heavy Merger provides a path to explain how the grammaticalisation takes place and most importantly, that this process succeeds at argument structure in connection with the internal argument. Furthermore, the comparison between participial resultatives and their adjectival counterparts lends further support to this conclusion. In these later constructions, '*tener*' is a main verb rather than a Lexical auxiliary and it combines with unaccusative based perfective adjectives (in the sense of Bosque 1990). This contrast tells us that the difference between participial and adjectival resultatives is that the latter depicts a relation between a main verb, its object and a perfective adjective secondary predicate which happens in the syntax. In contrast for its participial counterpart, this relation involves a Lexical auxiliary which is linked to its embedded predicate at argument structure through Heavy Merger and the result is that the objective DP is a semantically composite argument. As a consequence, by extension, this contrast between adjectival and participial resultatives tells us how

grammaticalisation proceeds. Adjectival resultatives are unaccusative achievement based constructions. Participial resultatives, in contrast, are subject to a strict transitivity requirement where only accomplishment/activity verbs with specific quantized DPs are allowed. Therefore, the inclusion of these latter periphrastic participial constructions into the paradigm enables the expansion of the range of verbs allowed as resultatives and as a result the grammaticalisation process can be characterised as proceeding through argument structure from a relation which was established initially in the syntax. This we find depicted in the illustration below:



Furthermore, this leap from the syntax into argument structure through the creation of a semantically composite argument, tells us that the weakening process involved in grammaticalisation of perfectives is related to the weakening of the aspectual properties of the internal arguments of the verbs involved. In this thesis this latter issue has been interpreted in connection with how quantized and cumulative objective DPs are involved in the phenomenon of compositional aspect. As mentioned above, three types of internal arguments delimited, delimiting and non-delimiting internal arguments have been established depending on whether they are associated with the aspectual types of achievements, activities/accomplishments or statives (in the sense of Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979). These correlations between quantized and cumulative DPs and aspectual types I present below:

achievements	Quantized: delimited internal arguments Cumulative: delimited internal arguments
activities/accomplishments	Quantized: delimiting internal arguments Cumulative: non-delimiting internal arguments
statives	Quantized: non-delimiting internal arguments Cumulative: non-delimiting internal arguments

From the above we see how achievement verbs have inherently delimited internal arguments and this very property makes these verb aspectually strong. Activities / accomplishments, on the other hand, have delimiting internal arguments. This latter property makes this type of argument aspectually variable hence, the distinction between delimiting and non-delimiting becomes relevant. Finally, stative verbs can never be delimited and this property makes these verbs aspectually weak and malleable. The way these internal arguments become involved in the phenomenon of compositional aspect is relevant to the weakening process involved in grammaticalisation. By way of illustration, the resultative construction starts with achievement based verbs and the weakening process proceeds through accomplishment / activity verbs with quantized delimiting DPs. With the inclusion of cumulative non-delimiting ones in the context of this latter aspectual type the process continues into a perfective until stative verbs are included into the paradigm which is when the weakening process of the object ends. This in turn, favours the process whereby an initially object- oriented construction becomes a subject-oriented one and which is related to the transferal of unaccusative verbs from the *be* selection paradigm to the one represented by *have* selection. However, at the more general level this change can be characterised as nothing other than a change in scope relations between auxiliaries and embedded predicates.

Therefore, in order to conclude it is possible to say that the licensing mechanisms of Discharge, Heavy Merger and Light Merger provide the stages which are part of the resultative to perfective drift. Below we find a summary of these stages and the processes taking place at each one:

Stage I	DISCHARGE	Main verb: Adjectival resultatives [Object linking in syntax]
Stage II	HEAVY MERGER	Lexical auxiliary: Participial resultative <i>have</i> [Optional Merger of external args.] [Obligatory Merger of internal args.] <i>be</i> [Obligatory Merger of internal args.]
Stage III	HEAVY MERGER	Lexical auxiliary: Perfectives with result./perf. ambiguity and strong auxiliary selection. <i>have</i> [Obligatory Merger of external args.] [Optional Merger of internal args.] <i>be</i> [Obligatory Merger of internal args.]

Stage IV	LIGHT MERGER	Functional auxiliary. Release of Heavy Merger or parasitic relation with arguments of embedded predicate. Merger involving the whole of the embedded predicate.
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Here we see how in Stage I the main verb involved in adjectival resultatives becomes a Lexical auxiliary in Stage II where the Merger of internal arguments is obligatory and optional for external arguments. Further down the line of grammaticalisation in Stage III, for the Lexical perfective auxiliary the Merger of external arguments is obligatory and optional for internal ones. In addition, between Stages II and III we also see how for *be* based resultatives and perfectives Merger is always obligatory and this sole fact renders this construction unproductive in terms of grammaticalisation. *Be* cannot become a functional auxiliary, instead, it passes its unaccusative verbs onto the *have* paradigm. Finally, in order to conclude this investigation we can speculate that the reason is connected to the greater change semantic change involved in the resultative to perfective drift, which involves the change from a construction denoting a present state which is the result of past action to a construction with past action with a current relevance interpretation. This drift can then be reinterpreted as the emergence of tense related construction from an initially aspectual construction. Resultatives being aspectual constructions are object related because it is object and not subjects that are involved in phenomena related to aspect. In contrast, tense is a deictic category which means that it locates an event in relation to the time of utterance which is speaker (ie. subject) oriented. As a result, unaccusatives cannot remain in the perfective paradigm connected to *be* because this auxiliary also being unaccusative can never have a subject-oriented interpretation. However, it has to be pointed out that this conclusion this is nothing but speculation and that it opens a new possible line of investigation.

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